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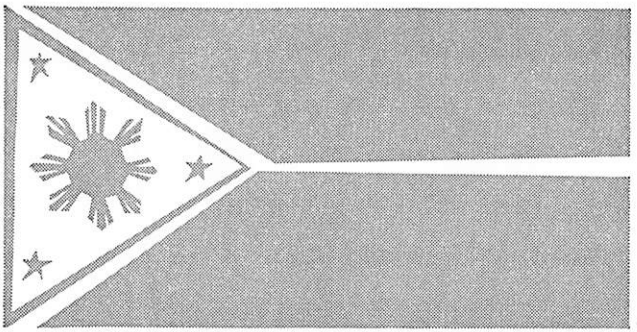

NATIONALISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE PHILIPPINES

RICHARD L. DEATS

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DEDICATED *to all those who have helped to advance the selfhood and maturity of the Church Universal in the Philippine nation*

PREFACE

ONE OF THE MOST striking characteristics of Asia and Africa in the latter half of the twentieth century is the predominance of nations which in recent years have been freed of Western colonialism. While their independence is largely a postwar phenomenon, the nationalism that preceded it had been gaining momentum for decades. As a result, nationalism has become in those lands today a pervasive force that is profoundly influencing all aspects of their society, including their religious institutions.

This rise in the influence of nationalism has posed particular challenges to the Christian churches in Asia and Africa. Unlike the other religions of these two great continents, Christianity was brought to most of Asia and Africa by missionaries from the colonial nations of the West. In the eyes of many, the churches resulting from these missionary endeavors have been seen not simply as the bearers of a religious faith, but also as representatives of the colonial West. This has been especially true wherever any such church has long remained under foreign leadership and direction.

The degree to which nationalism has affected the various Asian and African churches is a problem meriting extensive and careful historical study. The importance of this type of research is readily apparent. The churches in each nation face responsibilities both toward the universal faith they share with the world Christian community, and toward the respective national communities in which they are located. In some cases these two responsibilities are

compatible; at other times, however, they exist in tension and are even mutually contradictory. Knowledge of how the churches in the newly independent countries have actually responded to nationalism can be of great value to the churches of various national settings as they continue to be confronted with this issue.

The purpose of this volume is to focus upon this problem as it has been faced in one nation—the Republic of the Philippines. The Philippines constitutes a particularly valuable setting for such an investigation because of the duration and importance of Philippine nationalism, and the varied responses to that nationalism by the four churches examined here—Roman Catholic, Independent Catholic, United Church of Christ, and Methodist.

The period covered is basically from the first Protestant missionary work in the Philippines in 1899 until the present, a period which also saw the establishment of the Philippine Independent church. As background it will be useful also to sketch in briefly the earlier years from the coming of the first Roman Catholic missionaries in 1521.

This project grew out of the author's experience as a missionary, pastor, and teacher in the Philippines. In its original form, the volume was a doctoral dissertation completed at Boston University Graduate School.

A special word of appreciation should go to my dissertation advisers, Dean Walter G. Muelder and Professor Paul K. Deats, whose incisiveness and encouragement were of invaluable help in the completion of the work. Professor Gerald H. Anderson of Union Theological Seminary, the Philippines; Professor William Richey Hogg of Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University; and Dr. Jannette E. Newhall, former Library Consultant of Union Theological Seminary, the Philippines, also offered special encouragement and helpful suggestions in revisions for publication. Finally, I am very grateful to my wife for her unfailing assistance in the many hours spent on this volume.

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We owe allegiance to the state; but deeper,
truer, more,

To the sympathies that God hath set within
our spirit's core;

Our country claims our fealty; we grant it so,
but then

Before Man made us citizens, great Nature
made us men.

He's true to God who's true to man; wherever
wrong is done,

To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the
all-beholding sun,

The wrong is also done to us; and they are
slaves most base,

Whose love of right is for themselves, and not
for all their race.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

NATIONALISM HAS BEEN broadly defined as "the self-conscious assertion by a people of its own individuality in relation to other peoples."[1] The ways by which nations assert their own individuality, however, differ widely from country to country. Thus, many different types of nationalism have evolved in the modern era, varying all the way from peaceful and international varieties to aggressive and chauvinistic types.[2] Today in the West, however, nationalism is most often spoken of in terms of its demonic extreme, in which a nation exalts itself and its way of life at the expense and exclusion of other people. This type of nationalism frequently connotes empire-building, exploitation, and aggression.[3] A similar nationalism is that referred to as "national egoism," in which a nation considers its own sovereignty as a supreme value not to be surrendered or compromised, regardless of the effects of such a policy.[4]

Such extreme forms of nationalism are potentially present in every nation and are of utmost danger to world order. As Hans Kohn has pointed out:

> Nationalism is a deeply divisive force, if it is not tempered by the liberal spirit of tolerance and compromise or the humanitarian universalism of a non-political religion. Its stress upon national sovereignty and cultural distinctiveness hardly helps to promote cooperation among peoples at the very time when for technological and economic reasons they grow more and more interdependent.[5]

While we recognize these dangers, it is equally important that we also see the positive aspects of the nationalism of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. We must understand this nationalism in terms of these nations' recent history and present goals. Nationalism in countries under colonial rule arose primarily as an ideology directed *against* imperialism and *for* national independence. As independence was achieved, this nationalism became centered around the positive task of nation-building, which includes such goals as "the consolidation of national unity," "the promotion of political democracy," "the planning of economic progress,"[6] and "the enrichment of national culture."[7]

This type of nationalism is frequently spoken of within the framework of the international order. As an example, one Filipino nationalist wrote:

> I believe in the twin principles of nationalism and internationalism as guides in life—life individual, national, regional, and international. Sound nationalism is vital and it must be broad, pacific, and constructive, not narrow, chauvinistic or destructive. Sound nationalism is a stepping stone to sane internationalism. Our nationalism has been broadened and sanctified by religion of recognized universality and humanity. There should be no conflict between nationalism and internationalism, for they are complementary and necessary.[8]

It is mainly with this positive, constructive kind of nationalism that this volume deals, for this is the type that has been prevalent in the Philippines.

Philippine Nationalism

Nationalism has, for nearly a century, helped to shape the life of the Philippines, not only politically but religiously as well. The first real flames of nationalist uprising in the islands burst out as early as 1872, when the Filipinos rose against Spain in the Cavite Mutiny. Growing nationalist sentiment culminated in a full-scale revolution in 1896, an event which preceded by many years the similar Asian revolts against colonialism, that became especially prevalent in the years following World War II. This Filipino nationalism resulted in the first Philippine Republic's being pro-

claimed in 1898 as the fulfilment of the "first national democratic revolution in Asia."[9] Thus, in a very real sense, it is possible for one to speak of the Philippines as the birthplace of modern nationalism in Asia.[10]

Philippine hopes for national liberty were, however, soon frustrated. The Spanish-American War not only brought the expulsion of Spain from the Philippines, but also ended the short-lived Philippine Republic. Although this intervention by the United States and the new colonization that followed prevented the realization of full independence in the archipelago until 1946, nationalism continued as a strong force in the islands. But in contrast to the severity of the Spanish period, American colonial efforts were directed toward increasing self-government along with economic, social, technological, and educational development. As a result, Philippine nationalism during the American period became "pragmatic and conservative"[11] in response to the generally progressive type of colonial policies the United States pursued in the islands.

Since independence in 1946, the Philippines has had a rather remarkably stable democratic government. It has also been deeply committed to the United Nations. Nationalistic tensions with the United States have developed, quite naturally, over remaining aspects of economic colonialism and over American military bases in the country. In addition, Chinese living in the Philippines, even though many of them are Filipino citizens, have had to bear the brunt of "Filipino First" economic policies directed largely against them. On the whole, however, Philippine nationalism has remained moderate, and the country has not exhibited the chauvinistic and aggressive policies of some of its neighbors, such as China and Indonesia. Its basic concern has been with the constructive task of nation-building, although its efforts in this direction have been thwarted by a severe population explosion and by vested economic interests which control both major political parties.

Philippine nationalism has affected the churches, as the succeeding chapters will show, almost wholly in terms of the related issues of national independence and development and of ecclesiastical self-direction. Religious support for the former has been expected by Filipino nationalists, while nationalists in turn have

agitated for ecclesiastical independence and Filipino leadership (or "Filipinization") in the churches and related institutions.

For our purposes, therefore, given this background of Philippine nationalism and our focus on its relationship to the life of the churches, we shall define nationalism as *the desires and efforts of a people for independence in the political or religious spheres and for the fullest self-direction and self-realization within the institutions encompassed by both these spheres.*

Evaluating the Philippine Experience

Ecumenical documents of recent decades, especially those of the International Missionary Council, the implications of social ethics, and the writer's experience as a missionary in the Philippines may, taken together, serve as the basis for norms which will assist in the evaluation of the historical response of the Philippine churches to nationalism.

1. *The church is the bearer of a gospel that, though relevant to all cultures and nations, transcends every cultural and national setting.*

The Christian gospel is a universal faith which speaks to the genuine needs of all men.[12] Although the Christian faith arose through a particular people, the Jews, and is centered in Jesus Christ, who is the fulfilment of the faith of Israel, it is a faith not limited to any one people or nation. Indeed, it is a faith for all the nations and for all conditions of men, calling all men to an allegiance to the one God of the universe, whose way of love and reconciliation was seen supremely in Jesus Christ. It points man and society to the God who rules all the nations of men with justice and mercy.

2. *The church, rooted in a universal faith, should at the same time be indigenous to the nation in which it exists.*

The gospel penetrates and transforms a people as they become aware that Jesus is the Christ of "every road."[13] He is the one who speaks to every man's deepest needs and longings, the one in whom the fulness of the universal God is revealed.

The church is the witness to a gospel that, while universal, must find expression within the life and language of each nation,

for each people has its own type or variation of language, thought forms, institutions, and customs.[14] Within each of these, the church is given the task to "seek to fill cultural forms with Christian substance; to transform, under the power and guidance of the Holy Spirit, the ideas, practices, and traditions of the people, so that the Christian message may become an integral part of the life and experience of the people."[15]

In order that this task may be fulfilled, the church should be expressive of its own selfhood. This means that the church should be self-led, directed and governed by its own people and ministry as they are faithful to Christ and responsive to his guidance. Furthermore, the church should be self-supporting, financially able to care for itself and its activities. Finally, the church should be self-propagating, spiritually awake and outgoing.

Thus, the church, at home in each nation, affirms the nation and the noblest hopes and aspirations for the self-fulfilment of every people. The church affirms

> that each nation seems to have its distinctive contribution and mission to the world. . . . The ties of common blood, soil, tradition, culture, and purpose which constitute the national community are by nature enormously strong. They are given of God, who creates the individual life in and through the life of a specific community.[16]

3. *The church should not become a captive of the nationalism of any people.*

The missionary task of the church makes it imperative that the church in each land have autonomy in Christ, so that it can respond and adapt creatively to each particular setting in which it is located. Thus, the church must be identified with the nation, and the indigenous character of the church in each land is essential for a full presentation of the gospel; but this identification and indigenization must not proceed to a degree or take a form that makes the gospel subservient to the particular national setting in which the church is placed. When this happens, the Christian faith is narrowed and perverted, and the redemptive message and prophetic relevance of the church are impaired.

Nationalism is to be affirmed as it unifies, develops, and inspires

a people. It is to be affirmed when it socially integrates a society for constructive purposes. But when nationalism becomes narrow and exclusive, when it claims the absolute loyalty of the people, or when it denies in any way the people's rightful part in the whole family of nations, the church must stand in judgment. Because of the marked tendency of nationalism to exceed its proper limits and to deny the solidarity of mankind, the church must always guard against becoming captive to nationalism at any time.[17] The church must never lose sight of the fact that its primary loyalty is always to the God of all the nations.

4. *The church in each nation should be an integral part of the world Christian community, willing to give its resources and personnel to other nations and receive the resources and personnel of other nations as a faithful expression of its corporate life.*

The church in each nation, although identified with and participating in the life of the nation, must at all times be aware that its mission is to the entire world and that the faith it holds joins it intimately to the Christian community throughout the world. The church, in its local and national setting, is never *just* local and national. In the deepest and truest sense, it is a part of a universal fellowship, given the mission of proclaiming by word and deed the love of God as revealed in Christ for all humanity.

This universal nature of the church means that the process of becoming indigenous, despite its importance, is never the church's principal task. That is,

> when you have solved the problem of making the Christian Church indigenous . . . , you have not solved the main problem of the Church, which exists for the worship of God, for Christian fellowship, for training its members in spiritual and daily life, for active service for the good of their fellow man, and for the propagation of the Christian message of love.[18]

In these tasks, the duty of the church is everywhere the same, even though the tasks are expressed in a variety of ways. In order best to fulfil its responsibilities and to carry out its manifold tasks, the church in each nation should be willing to give and to receive personnel and resources to and from other parts of the world

Christian community, thus contributing significantly to the rich diversity of the universal church.

5. The church, as a redeemed and reconciling community, should contribute positively to the task of nation-building by being a creative participant in the life of the nation, prophetically critical and devoted to the common good of all.

The church has a positive role in nation-building. As the nation seeks to realize its own selfhood, the church should affirm and contribute to all efforts that increase human dignity, that widen the sphere of personal freedom, and that give embodiment to the demands of social justice. Furthermore, the church is called upon to be "fully involved in the nation's concern to be truly a nation, exercising its vocation as a nation among nations and safeguarding its integrity against disruptive forces from within or without."[19]

This involvement includes the prophetic task, for the church must look at the nation ultimately not from the perspective of nationalistic goals but from that of the Christian faith. Not only by its involvement in the nation but by its life in Christ, the church—as a redeemed and reconciling community—should always place before the people the ultimate purpose God has for all the nations: the realization of his Kingdom of perfect righteousness.[20]

Let us, then, examine and evaluate, in the perspective of these norms, the record of Christianity in the Philippines. This will be done in terms of the history of four churches: the Roman Catholic church, the Philippine Independent church, the United Church of Christ, and the Methodist church. These four churches have been chosen because in their histories can be found responses to Philippine nationalism that are quite distinct from each other. In addition, the vast majority of Filipino Christians belong to these four churches. One very large, completely indigenous sect, the Iglesia ni Kristo—although certainly of unique importance in this area of study—is not examined in this volume because it is of fairly recent origin, very little of an authoritative nature is publicly known about it, and its historical records and policies are generally inaccessible to nonmembers.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE PHILIPPINES

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THE RELATIONSHIP of the Roman Catholic church to nationalism in the Philippines has been marked by a great deal of conflict. In order to have an adequate perspective for understanding the reasons for this conflict, it is necessary that we examine at least briefly the historical setting in which Catholicism came to the Philippine archipelago.

THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PHILIPPINES

The sixteenth century was a time of great exploration and expansion by Spain into the Americas and into Asia. Following Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World, Spain displayed a remarkable burst of energy and initiative in expanding her empire westward.

The Establishment of Spanish Sovereignty

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailing under the flag of Spain, is remembered in history as the first Westerner to arrive in the Philippines.[1] Seeking a new route to the Spice Islands (the Moluccas), Magellan sailed westward from Spain on September 20, 1519, and, after much suffering and hunger, he and his men reached the Philippines on March 16, 1521. Although they had come upon these islands quite by accident, their discovery proved to be an important one for Spain. On March 31, 1521, Father Pedro de Valderrama, one of the members of Magellan's party,

said the first mass in the archipelago. Later that same day, "in the presence of Filipinos and Spaniards, Magellan solemnly planted a huge wooden cross on the summit of a hill overlooking the sea, and took possession of the country in the name of Spain."[2] Thus, from the beginning, the purposes of Spain and of the Roman church were inseparably linked.

Nearly half a century went by before the islands were actually brought under the control of Spain. It was not until 1571 that Spain, under King Philip II, succeeded in firmly establishing her sovereignty through the efforts of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, conqueror and nobleman who is credited with finishing the conquest and starting colonization.

The Purposes of Spanish Colonial Rule

THE EXTENSION OF EMPIRE

Spain sought to build an empire that would extend the influence of Hispanic civilization around the world. Her pride in a glorious past and her hope for an even greater future moved Spanish sovereigns to send explorers to the uttermost reaches of the world. The Philippines provided Spain with the opportunity of gaining a significant colony just off the coast of the mainland of Asia that would add appreciably to her already vast holdings elsewhere.

Along with the drive for national glory were commercial considerations. One of Spain's initial reasons for coming to Asia was to obtain a part of the coveted spice trade that Portgual had established in the Moluccas.[3] Another commercial factor entered the picture as colonization developed. Although little treasure was found in the Philippines, Manila became extremely important as a trading port. Spanish Mexico wanted silks from China, and China wanted silver from Mexico. Manila became the connecting link in the lucrative trade that developed between the two countries.[4]

THE CONVERSION OF ASIA

One should not, however, overemphasize the commercial factors in Spanish colonization of the Philippines. The religious motivation for staying in the islands was much more important than

is commonly assumed. Spain seriously considered withdrawing from her involvement in the Philippines. The islands were far from Spain, and they did not have the riches that were found in the New World. Few settlers were willing to go to the islands. Rivalry from the Portuguese and Dutch robbed the spice trade of much of its promise. Although Chinese and Spanish merchants did a profitable business in the silk and silver trade, the Spanish government continually showed deficits in this Asian outpost and was frequently discouraged.[5]

It was the Roman Catholic church, however, which insisted upon Spain's maintaining this Asian colony. Although few Spanish settlers had been willing to go to the Philippines, the missionaries of the religious orders had gone in significant numbers, and they had remarkable success in converting the natives. They saw in these islands a real opportunity for establishing a strong base of Catholicism in Asia, from which later they hoped to spread into China and Japan. To the friars, it was a providential opportunity from which there could be no turning back. Thus, "more than any other single factor a religious and missionary commitment kept the Spanish state in the economically profitless colony of the Philippines."[6]

The Rapid Spread of Catholicism

When Legaspi began colonization of the Philippines, he was accompanied by a group of Augustinian monks who immediately began intensive missionary labors. Shortly afterward, in 1577, the Franciscans came to the islands. The Jesuits and Dominicans came in 1581, and finally the Recollects arrived in 1606.[7] Through these five religious orders, Christianity was firmly planted on Filipino soil. Although the first conversions came slowly, with only one hundred baptisms during the first five years,[8] the effectiveness of the friars' steady work mounted as they became more skilled in understanding the people and speaking their dialects, and as they were joined by a growing number of missionaries. By 1622 there had been over half a million baptisms, which gives a good indication of the rather remarkable rapidity with which Christianity spread into this hitherto unknown section of the world.[9]

The Contributions of Roman Catholicism to the Emerging Nation

Magellan did not discover a single nation when he came to the Philippines; rather, he found an archipelago composed of over seven thousand islands on which lived many scattered tribes of varied ethnic backgrounds, speaking a large number of dialects. The majority of the islanders did possess a fairly common heritage in their Malay and Indonesian backgrounds, as well as in the cultural influences of China and India that had reached into the islands in the centuries past. But in spite of some similarities, actually this heritage was too diverse and the people were too isolated from one another for there to have existed by the time of the sixteenth century what properly could have been called a national consciousness.

Such national consciousness did begin to emerge, however, under the unifying influence of Spanish rule. The islands were increasingly brought under one governing system whose authority overarched the many small kinship groups called *barangays*.[10] This unifying process, obviously so necessary in the building of a nation, was further aided as Catholicism spread over the islands, functioning to give the people a common set of religious beliefs and a common moral code, as well as making numerous cultural contributions.

A Unifying Faith

The nature worship and polytheism of the majority of the Filipinos gave way rapidly to the religion of Spain. Primitive spirit worship was replaced by the pageant and dogma of Hispanic Catholicism, and a common moral standard began to be established throughout the colony. Although the mass conversions to Catholicism were often of a superficial nature, they were nonetheless the beginning point of a process of Christianization that was to unify most of the Filipinos as one people under one universal God. Thus, eventually, "national attitudes towards truth and goodness, towards law, towards justice, towards womanhood became Christian Filipino attitudes distinct from those in our geographical milieu."[11]

The Worth and Dignity of Man

The Christian belief that all men are made in the image of God found its expression in a number of significant ways in the Philippines. Just as Christianity elevated the concept of the family and the status of women in the Roman Empire, so the process was repeated in the Philippines. That the elevation of womanhood was especially noteworthy is seen in the high regard in which the Filipina is held today, in contrast to the place of woman in many other Asian societies. Another expression of belief in the dignity of man is seen in the way the missionary, time and again, sought to curb abuses by the colonial authorities of the native population. As one example among many, in 1574 Augustinian friars strongly denounced the military and civilian authorities for their unjust conquest of the islands and for the excessive tribute they were collecting.[12] Most significant is the effective stand the Roman church took against slavery in the islands. In 1589 King Philip II ordered the freeing of all slaves in the Philippines, and in 1591 Pope Gregory XIV ordered that all Filipino slaves were to be freed and that restitution should be made to the natives for the losses they had incurred during the conquest.[13] The rather faithful implementation of these demands must be regarded as an important milestone in the colonization of the Philippines and in the building of the nation.

Cultural Contributions

The missionary orders brought to the Philippines not only the Catholic faith, but also cultural contributions that did much to develop and enhance the culture. The pre-Hispanic Filipinos were certainly not the barbaric savages that are sometimes pictured by twentieth-century writers.[14] For example, the islanders had developed writing, they used metals, they had trade with other countries, and they had developed agriculture.[15] Nonetheless, genuine cultural advances did take place as a result of the work of the orders. Schools, hospitals, and orphanages were founded. Pioneering work was done in linguistics, geology, and geography, and agriculture was further improved.[16] New plants and animals were introduced in the islands. Music was encouraged and developed.[17]

Roads and bridges were built,[18] and building with stone was introduced.[19] Thus, in these and other ways, the culture of the islands advanced, and nationhood approached ever closer to reality.

The Church's Detrimental Role in National Development

While the Roman church made many significant contributions toward giving shape and direction to the building of the Philippine nation, the passing of years unfortunately also saw the church playing an increasingly detrimental role in the islands. This latter role grew to such proportions that by the end of the nineteenth century the Roman church, as represented by the religious orders, was seen by the leaders of Philippine nationalism as one of their greatest enemies, and anticlericalism became one of the dominant factors in the Philippine Revolution. There were several reasons for this tragic development.

The Wide Scope of the Church's Authority

The Roman Catholic church came to the Philippines as an integral part of the colonial government. This was not simply an extension of the pattern in Spain, where church and state were so closely interrelated. In the Philippines, because of the unique conditions existing in the archipelago, the church's role became even more important than in the mother country. The predominantly religious motive for holding onto this economically disappointing Asian colony has already been mentioned. In addition, Spain, greatly extended in the New World, found difficulty in finding settlers to go to the other side of the world when her possessions in America not only were much closer to home but also promised greater riches. Neither was it easy to get enough governmental officials to administer this island colony. The church, on the other hand, saw the Philippines as a golden evangelistic opportunity and lost no time in sending a growing number of missionaries to her shores. The government backed the church in this venture by paying the transportation and salaries of the missionaries, as well as by providing them with the necessary clothing and prayer books.[20]

When the friars reached the islands, they increasingly were

given not only religious functions but many other functions as well. Whereas most of the settlers, traders, and officials stayed in and near Manila, the friars settled throughout the archipelago, founding towns and building churches. In most areas the missionary was the only Spaniard to be found; hence, he came to be not only the religious leader, but the civil authority as well.[21] The priest was so effective in this dual role that Spain found solution of the problem of peace and order remarkably easy, so much so that "the standing army organized in 1500 for the defense of the country numbered four hundred men!"[22] Thus it was said by a Spanish colonial official: "En cada fraile tenía el rey en Filipinas un capitan general y un ejercito entero."[23] The importance of the friar was further enhanced by the fact that, whereas most of the Spaniards did not know the native dialects and most of the Filipinos did not know Spanish, the missionary knew both Spanish and at least one dialect. Thus, he was indispensable as a mediator between the government and the people. In addition, whereas the civil and military authorities came to the Philippines only for short terms, the missionaries came for life. Thus, the friars' experience was far superior in breadth and continuity to that of all other Spaniards in the islands.[24]

The church's authority, therefore, was widespread and was, by and large, the foundation upon which Spanish sovereignty rested. The scope of this authority has been succinctly stated by the noted Filipino historian, Gregorio Zaide:

> The Church exercised religious, political and judicial functions. Its religious functions were those pertaining to the propagation and preservation of the Christian religion. Its political functions came out of its union with the State; so important were those functions that all clergymen, from the archbishop down to the curates, enjoyed political power and prestige. The judicial functions of the Church were discharged by the Archbishop's Court and the Holy Inquisition. The Archbishop's Court . . . tried cases pertaining to Canon Law, heresy on the part of Filipinos and Chinese, and cases involving the clergy.[25]

The Growing Wealth of the Church

Not only did the church grow in power, but it also began to amass great wealth. While it received support from Spain, it also

collected tribute from the Filipinos. The priest was paid tribute according to the number of families he had under his supervision. Most of the orders collected fees for the sacraments, fees that often were excessive. The people were required to donate the manual labor needed for the building of the churches, monasteries, and parish houses. The Filipinos were also expected to contribute food and domestic service for the religious orders.[26]

Most significant of all was the property the orders came to possess. Gradually they acquired big estates, until they became the largest landholders in the country. By 1898, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, and the Recollects had obtained 420,000 acres of land with over 60,000 tenants.[27] Not only was this some of the finest cultivated land in the Philippines, but much of it was also in the most densely populated provinces, such as Cavite, where the religious corporations owned 30 per cent of the land under cultivation.[28]

The Corrupting Effect of the Church's Power and Wealth

The Roman church, possessing such broad powers and increasing greatly in wealth, began to be corrupted by her privileged position. This was especially true of the religious orders, which were the real locus of power in the Philippine church. The friars, holders of great power, were often isolated from their fellow missionaries. As a result they could not be carefully supervised, and discipline often grew lax. The poverty of early years gave way to comfort and even luxury. Not infrequently, chastity gave way to lust. The devotion of the early missionaries, who had little prospect of anything but difficulty when they set sail from Europe, was all too often forgotten by their replacements. The motives of the later arrivals were often far less noble than those of their predecessors, for news of changed conditions was not long in getting back to Spain.[29]

Unfortunately, reform did not come in the church, and Catholicism, corrupt and lax, became increasingly an obstacle to national progress. An added dimension to this tragic situation was the paternalistic attitude of the friars toward the parishes and their unwillingness to allow Filipino priests to replace them.

The Problem of Secularization

The religious orders had widespread control of most of the work of the Roman church in the islands, including the supervision of the local churches. They strongly resisted any attempts that were made by the hierarchy to bring in regular priests as replacements for secular priests in the parishes.[30] This resistance proved to be especially bitter when the secular priests were Filipinos rather than Spaniards.

Historically, in Catholicism, there has been frequent conflict between the regular and the secular clergy. The regular or religious priest, bound by a strict discipline and living under the direction of the superior of his order, is trained for special tasks, such as teaching or missionary work. The secular priest ordinarily serves a parish and is under the supervision of the bishop. The regular priest ordinarily does not administer the sacraments or perform other parish duties. Under certain conditions, however, as in a newly opened mission where secular priests are not yet available, he may be placed in charge of a parish. Two problems have often arisen in such a situation. First, there is the problem of whether the regular priest serving a parish is under the supervision of the head of his order or the bishop of the diocese in which his parish is located. Second, there is the problem of when the regular priest is to surrender his pastoral duties to a secular priest and move on to new work. (The replacing of a regular by a secular priest is called "secularization.")[31] This whole issue was protracted and bitter in the Philippines and eventually, as we shall see, became a part of the nationalistic struggle.

The Acuteness of the Problem

The monastic orders came to the Philippines and, with great success, established the church. They had received from Pope Adrian VI in 1522 the right to administer the sacraments and to perform other parish duties, and were also granted exemption from supervision by local bishops.[32] With no secular priests to replace them in the parishes and with few civil officials to handle their non-ecclesiastical functions, the friars became strongly entrenched. Attempts by both the governmental authorities and the secular

bishops to supervise the work of the orders were effectively resisted by the friars.

The Council of Trent in 1564 concerned itself with the widespread conflict between the secular bishops and the orders over the issue of episcopal visitation. The Council ruled that any priest serving a parish should be subject to the authority of the bishop. In addition to this ruling of the Council, it was already a part of church law that bishops and archbishops had the right to supervise parishes within their respective jurisdictions. This supervision included checking the priests' conduct, hearing any complaints against them, and investigating the finances and records as well as the general condition of ecclesiastical properties.[33]

Despite the ruling of Trent and the clarity of church law on the issue, however, the power of the orders in the Philippines was such that there was no way of implementing secularization of the parishes or of forcing episcopal supervision on the regular priests. The friar had become both powerful and irreplaceable in the Philippines, and neither king nor governor-general nor bishop could permanently dislodge the orders from their privileged position. Although the orders were seriously challenged, on several occasions, they were able to retain their privileges, for the most part, until Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines ended in 1898.[34]

Attempts at Secularization of the Parishes

The first conflict over friars' serving in the parishes occurred in 1582 when the Bishop of Manila, Domingo de Salazar, said that priests within his jurisdiction were to be under his supervision. This had been the rule in Mexico, where he had been a missionary for forty years, and he saw no reason why it should not be the case in the Philippines.[35] The regulars, however, said that they would not submit to episcopal visitation, as they were fulfilling missionary duties and were responsible only to their superiors. When Salazar pressed the issue, some of the friars left their parishes, and many more threatened to resign. With no secular replacements, the bishop was powerless to enforce his ruling, and he had to desist from pressing the issue further.[36]

In the seventeenth century there were several similar con-

flicts. In 1624 Archbishop Miguel Serrano tried to enforce episcopal visitation. He wrote to the king of Spain, saying that the friars were guilty not only of disobedience but of immorality and that their attitude and conduct were harmful to Spanish sovereignty. Nothing resulted from his protest.[37] In 1653 Archbishop Miguel de Poblete sought to enforce visitation, but with only 59 secular priests available in contrast to 254 friar priests, he was unable to do anything when the friars threatened to resign.[38] Then in 1697 Archbishop Diego Camacho was appealed to for help by the friars, whose landholdings were being investigated by the colonial authorities. The validity of the friars' land titles was being questioned, and the friars needed the support of Camacho. The archbishop agreed to help them if they would allow episcopal visitation of their parishes. When they adamantly refused, he decided to assist the colonial authorities in their investigation. And indeed, he not only helped authorities but appealed to Pope Clement XI, pointing out that many of the friars were charging excessive fees, that many of them were refusing to administer final rites to the dying in their homes, and that many of them were applying strong pressure to get alms. He also mentioned the immorality of the friars. As a result of this appeal, the pope issued a bull which said that episcopal visitation of all parishes was to be enforced. The friars responded by intensifying their resistance, many of them leaving their parishes. The colonial authorities, dependent upon friar assistance, decided to abandon their investigation, with the result that Camacho was defeated.[39]

The controversy continued into the eighteenth century and came to its culmination under the combined efforts of Governor-General Simon de Anda, King Charles III, and Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa. Anda presented to the king in 1768 a lengthy accounting of the grave abuses of the friars in the islands. He pointed out not only their continued refusal to accept episcopal visitation, but their constant interference in the affairs of the government. He emphasized the greed of the orders, shown in their acquisition of great estates, in their interest in trade, and in their financial demands from the government. He said that they were treating with abuse Filipinos and local officials, as well as Spaniards

who sought to visit or trade in the provinces. He said they were refusing to teach Spanish to the natives and that they were, in general, neglecting their spiritual duties. He urged that they be required to attend to their religious functions, give up their trade and business, and stop interfering with the affairs of the government. He said that they should give up their lands and that their extensive powers should be limited.[40]

As a result of the efforts of Anda, the king appointed as Archbishop of Manila Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa, an effective and powerful man who had been instrumental in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain. When the new archbishop arrived in the archipelago, he and the governor-general began to limit the power of the friars and to enforce episcopal visitation of the regulars' parishes.[41] In addition, Sancho began filling every available vacancy with a secular priest. The Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines in 1768. This hastened the process of secularization, for they left many vacant parishes. There were not nearly enough secular priests available for all the openings, so the archbishop began to train Filipino priests in increasing numbers to fill these positions.[42]

The Long Struggle for an Indigenous Priesthood

Consideration of the visitation controversy and of the frustration of efforts to replace friars with secular priests in local parishes leads one to ask what role Filipino priests played in this lengthy conflict. If scarcely anything has thus far been said concerning a Filipino clergy, it is because the Filipino priesthood became a reality so slowly. It is remarkable that although Roman Catholicism spread quickly over the islands, the idea of a strong indigenous priesthood, particularly in the orders, was long neglected and even resisted by the missionaries. As will be pointed out later, this issue was used by nationalists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to demonstrate the conflict of Roman Catholicism with Philippine nationalism.

Factors Against a Filipino Priesthood

A number of factors were arrayed against those who desired to form a Filipino priesthood. These factors reinforced each other

in such a way as to make the building of a strong indigenous clergy a painfully long process with many setbacks over the centuries.

CONTROL BY THE FOREIGN RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The religious orders spread over the Philippines not only as servants of the church but as indispensable agents of the Crown. The growth of their wealth and properties entrenched the orders in their position of strength, as did the lack of Spanish secular priests and the shortage of Spanish colonial officials outside the main centers of population. The early image of the missionaries as humble servants of Christ who not only converted the natives but protected them from the conquerors gave way to that of powerful theocratic lords who were stifling the nation's development. Their relationship to the Filipinos became that of master to obedient servant, of ruler to colonial subject. Such a situation worked against the formation of an indigenous clergy, for the missionaries did not want to share their privileged position with the native population. In addition, it took an unusual degree of determination and capability for one of the subject race to aspire to such a lofty vocation.

RACIAL AND CULTURAL PREJUDICE

Right up to the twentieth century there could be found among the friars attitudes of racial and cultural prejudice toward the Filipinos. The Filipinos were believed by many to be inferior to the Spaniards and not fit for the priesthood.

The work of the Catholic church in the Philippines was closely associated with its work in the Americas. Sixteenth-century attempts to establish a native clergy in the New World had proved unsuccessful, and as a result the idea became widespread that Indians were simply incapable of becoming priests. This led the Council of Mexico in 1555 to state that "sacred orders were not to be conferred on Indians, *mestizos* and mulattoes, who were classed with the descendants of Moors and persons who had been sentenced by the Inquisition as lacking the good repute which befitted the sacerdotal character."[43] Then the Council of Lima in 1591 stated that "Indians should not receive any of the Church's orders."[44]

These policies crossed the Pacific and became effective in the Philippines as well as in Spanish America.[45]

The continuance of these policies prompted the king of Spain to send instructions in 1677 to the Archbishop of Manila, Felipe Pardo, to do all he could to build an indigenous clergy in the islands.[46] These orders were resisted by the archbishop, who responded by suggesting that the solution would be to send more missionaries from Spain! Pardo expressed his opposition to Filipino priests by pointing out the natives' "evil customs, their vices and their preconceived ideas which made it necessary to treat them as children even when they were fifty or sixty years old."[47] Subsequent appeals from the Spanish Crown in the decades that followed were postponed in a similar manner.[48]

The attitude of many of the friars to these attempts to form an indigenous clergy was expressed quite vividly by the Augustinian Gaspar de San Augustín:

> The *Indio* who seeks holy orders does so not because he has a call to a more perfect state of life, but because of the great and almost infinite advantages which accrue to him along with the new state of life he chooses. How much better to be a Reverend Father than to be a yeoman or a sexton! What a difference between paying tribute and being paid a stipend! Between being drafted to cut timber and being waited on hand and foot! . . . What an incubus upon the people shall his father be, and his mother, his sisters, his female cousins, when they shall have become great ladies overnight, while their betters are still pounding the rice for their supper! For if the *Indio* is insolent and insufferable with little or no excuse what will he be when elevated to so high a station?[49]

Another Augustinian, Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, expressed the opinion that Filipinos could be ordained as priests but that they should be allowed only to assist European priests.[50] Others expressed the view that the Filipinos, or *Indios* as the Spaniards ordinarily called them, were simply unfit, not only intellectually but morally, for the priesthood.[51]

As late as 1897, we find one of the friars expressing his contempt for the Filipinos in these terms:

> They brilliantly set forth the savage instincts and the bestial inclinations

of those faithful imitators of apes. . . . As neither Spain nor the friars can change the ethnological character of the race, so inferior to ours, it will be idle to desire to apply to them the same laws as to us. . . . The only liberty the Indians want is the liberty of savages. Leave them to their cock-fighting, their indolence, and they will thank you more than if you load them down with old and new rights.[52]

Although these views were not held unanimously and in the eighteenth century a start was finally made toward an indigenous priesthood, such attitudes as those of Fray Augustín were widespread enough to keep what Filipino priests there were in a position, by and large, of insignificance until after the end of the Spanish regime.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF SECULARIZATION AND FILIPINIZATION

The long struggle for the placing of secular priests in parishes held by regular priests eventually became another factor working against the establishment of a Filipino priesthood; because there were so few *Spanish* seculars, the secularization of the parishes became a racial issue for both the Spaniards and the Filipinos. The friars, who were opposed from the beginning to being replaced by secular priests, were doubly opposed to being replaced by *Filipino* secular priests. As far as they were concerned, this not only threatened their power, but also meant the placing of the church's future in totally incompetent hands. On the other hand, with the growth of nationalism in the nineteenth century the native priests became increasingly embittered toward the Spaniards for their racial arrogance which prevented Filipinos from taking their rightful places of leadership in their own country.

This does not mean that the religious orders did not train Filipinos for the priesthood at all. Both the pressure from the Spanish Crown and the overwhelming task of ministering to millions of Filipino Catholics dictated the necessity of training natives for the priesthood.[53] But the point is that those Filipinos who were trained received only the most cursory training, which prepared them merely to be assistants to the regulars.[54] The Filipino was trained, in the words of James LeRoy, to be the "frocked lackey of the friar-director of the town."[55] The quality of this training can be

seen in the following memorial of the city council of Manila to the king in 1804:

> In the three provincial capitals which are adorned with episcopal sees, there are no seminaries in which a young man can be trained with firmness and prudence since what are called seminaries consist practically of the mere material edifice. There are barely taught in them, by one or two *Indio* clerics who speak Spanish only with difficulty, a very bad Latin and a little Larraga.[56]

The Rise of a Filipino Clergy

Inadequate though the training was, an indigenous priesthood began to be formed in the eighteenth century. Finally responding to the wishes of the Spanish Crown that had first been expressed in 1677, Archbishop Camacho of Manila started laying the plans for a seminary to train Filipinos.[57] After some delays the seminary building was completed, and between 1702 and 1706 Camacho ordained the first Filipino to the priesthood.[58] From that time until several decades later, the number of Filipino priests rose steadily, so that by 1750, out of 569 parishes and missions, they had charge of 142.[59] A Jesuit historian, Juan Delgado, was favorably impressed by the general ability of these priests, saying: "Although they are *Indios*, they can serve as an example to shame Europeans."[60]

During this rise of an indigenous priesthood, the religious orders were increasingly involved in the secularization controversy with the Spanish Crown, the governors-general, and the archbishops of Manila. Under the vigorous efforts of Archbishop Sancho, this conflict came to a climax before 1770.[61] With the expulsion of the Jesuits, Filipino priests were placed in former Jesuit parishes in Manila, Pampanga, Bataan, and Iloilo; and when the Augustinians in Camarines resisted visitation in 1771, Sancho placed seculars there also.[62]

At this point a tragic thing happened. There were simply not enough trained Filipino priests to supply the great demand. The zealous archbishop began ordaining men who were inadequately prepared and sending them into positions beyond their training and experience. In fact, many of them were hastily recruited without being closely checked as to their moral character and sense of voca-

tion. It is not surprising that these ill-equipped priests were a failure. Not infrequently, their behavior was scandalous. The result was, in the words of Father de la Costa, that

> the native clergy as a whole sustained an injury to its reputation which has crippled its growth until very recent times. . . . Archbishop Sancho's disastrous experiment historically resulted in the general acceptance, on the part of both civil and ecclesiastical officials of [Fray Gaspar de] San Augustín's thesis: Filipinos, being by nature incapable of the full responsibilities of the priesthood, were to be employed only in strictly subordinate positions in the Church.[63]

With this reaction against the native priests, the old prejudice toward the "Indios" returned in full force, "an attitude at its best, of pitying tolerance, at its worst, of unconcealed contempt."[64] As a result of this setback, "the work of the Church in the Philippines suffered well-nigh irreparable damage."[65]

Because of the reaction that set in, the king of Spain in 1776 issued a royal decree suspending secularization.[66] Little by little the process begun by Sancho was reversed; the friars began to win back their former parishes, and the Filipinos once more became their assistants. In 1825 King Ferdinand VII issued a royal decree stating that secularization was to take place only with his permission. He also ordered that parishes secularized by Sancho and still in secular hands be turned over to the friars.[67]

Further blows to the native clergy occurred when the Jesuits returned to the Philippines in 1859. The Recollects had taken over the Jesuit work in Mindanao when the Society of Jesus had been expelled. Upon returning, the Jesuits were given back their Mindanao parishes, and as compensation the Recollects were given many of the best parishes on Luzon—at the expense of the national clergy.[68] By 1870 the process was complete, with most of the parishes back in the hands of the orders, including a number of other parishes which had been under seculars since their inception.[69] Thus, of 792 parishes, the regular clergy controlled all but 181, which were under the direction of secular priests (most of whom were Filipinos). And these 181 parishes were generally the poorest, smallest, and most distant of the 792.[70]

Results of the Discrimination Against Indigenous Leadership

Not only did the discrimination practiced against Filipino priests harm the national clergy who were the direct victims of this evil, but the church as a whole also suffered. In fact, it suffered to a degree that has left inner weaknesses in Roman Catholicism in the Philippines to this very day.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE CHURCH WITH SPANISH COLONIALISM

From the very beginning, the friars were an integral part of the colonial government. Their civil responsibilities were frequently as important as their religious duties. One expects those who have received power from the status quo to be opposed to change if it in any way might threaten that power. Such was the case with the friars. Even as the Philippine Revolution grew inevitably closer, they did not show sympathy with the desire of the Filipinos to have their own clergy in positions of leadership, nor did they seem to think of the real possibility of Philippine independence. Commenting on this latter factor, the Archbishop of Manila (who was an American) wrote in 1926:

> A careful analysis of after events will lead one to the conclusion that if the Spanish friars made a mistake in their policy of governing the Filipinos, it was solely in this: that they failed to realize that the day might come when Spanish sovereignty in the Islands would cease.[71]

Certainly this was not their *sole* mistake, as the archbishop states, but it was a crucial one. Father de la Costa points out how the friars dimly feared what a strong indigenous clergy might do to the Spanish domination of the archipelago:

> Behind the repeated assertions that the Filipino was incapable of assimilating any but the most rudimentary education lurked the fear that if he should be given more than that, he might conceivably use it to conduct his own affairs, and eventually discover that he no longer stood in need of a mother country.[72]

This close alliance of the church through the religious orders with the colonialism of the mother country served to damage Roman Catholicism radically when the revolution finally did come.[73]

LACK OF VITAL LEADERSHIP

The trend toward the replacement of secular priests in the parishes with regulars continued throughout the nineteenth century. As Archbishop O'Doherty, in speaking of this short-sighted policy, stated:

> They made no plans for an emergency such as happened in 1898. They neglected the Catholic principle that no Church can rest upon a substantial basis unless it is manned by a native clergy. True, native priests had been ordained in the Philippines, but they were seldom, if ever, allowed to become pastoral. Rather were their offices those of helpers in the more ordinary duties of the parish.[74]

The unfortunate lot of the Filipino priests continued until the revolution. And this was the case even though many of them were beginning to receive much better seminary training by the last half of the nineteenth century and were proving themselves to be intellectually and spiritually capable.[75] Yet no matter how well they did, they were unable to live down the disastrous results of the secularization fiasco of a century earlier.

When Spanish sovereignty ended in 1898, there were 967 parishes and missions in the country, with but 150 of them under Filipinos.[76] Despite 333 years of Spanish rule, there was by that time not a single Filipino bishop. The entire hierarchy was foreign.[77] And of the Filipino priests, few had ever belonged to any of the religious orders. The orders had long held aloof from a national clergy, within their own ranks particularly, and after 1832, Filipinos were not allowed into the orders at all.[78] The friars were willing to train Filipinos for the secular priesthood, but they had not been willing, except on rare occasions, to admit them into their own religious fellowship.

LACK OF DEPTH IN PHILIPPINE CATHOLICISM

The Philippines, like Latin America,[79] has always suffered from a lack of priests. This has meant that vast segments of the population which are considered Catholic must go without the ministrations of the clergy. They may be baptized and occasionally attend mass, but their understanding of Christian life and doctrine

must of necessity be superficial. This lack of depth has persisted since the first conversions in the sixteenth century, and the old paganism has never really been shaken off. In its rapid growth in the islands, Catholicism "accreted to itself a number of pre-Christian folkways. In addition, certain Catholic ritual acts took on somewhat unorthodox significance in the minds of the parishoners."[80] The missionaries sought to oppose the pre-Christian beliefs, but all too often the rich pageantry of Catholicism simply became a veneer over the old beliefs instead of expressing a genuine inner change.

A strong indigenous clergy, well-trained and dedicated, could have done much toward completing the job of Christianizing the Filipinos. In the words of John Phelan:

> A well-trained Filipino clergy could have done a great deal to root out superstitions, to promote a firmer grasp of the doctrine, and to administer the sacraments with much greater frequency. As it was there were virtually two religions. One was the Catholicism of the Spanish clergy and the Spanish colonists, and the other was the folk Catholicism of the Filipinos, a cleavage which was sharply delineated along racial and linguistic lines. A numerous Filipino clergy could certainly have done something to bridge the gap between these two expressions of Christianity. The Spanish clergy paid a heavy price for opposing the growth of a Filipino clergy.[81]

The Developing Spirit of Nationalism

The long struggle for an indigenous priesthood meant not only that Philippine Catholicism was failing to develop in depth and in self-strength, but also that the church was out of touch with what was taking place in the islands as the spirit of nationalism began to grow among the Filipinos.

The Filipinos, an island people with a strong spirit of independence, had never fully acquiesced to Spanish rule. Although they benefited from the unifying influence of Spain, the Filipinos grew restless under the increasing harshness of colonial and ecclesiastical rule, and there were frequent revolts against Spain and against the church, especially as represented by the religious orders. These revolts against the Roman church demonstrate the degree to

which Catholicism was looked upon as an enemy of the developing nationalism in the islands.

Early Revolts Against the Friars

The wealth and power of the religious orders made them a natural target of the growing unrest in the islands. They controlled much of the choice agricultural lands. They demanded tribute and forced labor in countryside and barrio alike. Their frequent cruelty and immorality built up an increasing resentment on the part of the Filipinos. All the factors contributing to this resentment merged and found expression in open revolts that began not long after Spanish rule came to the islands.

SEVENTEENTH- AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY UPRISINGS

In 1609 a Filipino named Miguel Banal personally addressed a protest to the Spanish Crown concerning the way in which the Jesuits were trampling on his rights and those of his neighbors in the Quiapo area of Manila. He reported that they had been taking away more and more of the lands without the consent of those who had lived there and who had inherited these lands from their forefathers. He said that he had built a house in one of his fields and a Jesuit had come with some other men and destroyed the house, telling him that future attempts to build a house there would meet with the same fate. Banal's protests to the local officials did no good, he reported, because everyone stood in fear of the friars. He therefore decided to appeal directly to Spain for justice.[82] In protests similar to that of Banal other Filipinos said that the religious had taken away lands from the people.

> without leaving them the freedom of the rivers for their fishing, or allowing them to cut wood for their necessary use, or even to collect the wild fruits; nor did they allow the natives to pasture on the hills near their villages the carabaos which they used for agriculture.[83]

Such injustices, remaining uncorrected, resulted in revolts in 1621 in the Bohol region and in 1660 and 1661 in Pangasinan and the Ilocos area.[84]

More serious revolts developed among the Tagalogs in 1745

and 1746. Again, the center of complaint was the Society of Jesus, which had proved to be the most oppressive of the orders. The first of the outbreaks began in September, 1745, in the province of Batangas, when the Filipinos claimed the friar-lands as their own. At first centered in Lian and Nasugbu, the revolt spread to other towns as Jesuit *conventos* were burned and their cattle ranches plundered. The revolt was finally stopped, and its leaders were either shot or exiled.[85]

Reports of these uprisings reached the king of Spain, who ordered an investigation and eventually removed the Jesuits from the land. They appealed for reconsideration and, after some delay, were able to win repossession of the land, which they were subsequently to retain until the twentieth century.[86] Further revolts, this time against the Dominicans and Augustinians, were reported in 1751 in the provinces of Bulacan and Cavite.[87]

APOLINARIO DE LA CRUZ

Uprisings continued into the nineteenth century. The most significant of these, prior to 1872, was led by a Tagalog named Apolinario de la Cruz. Raised in a devout Catholic family, Apolinario, encouraged by his parents, decided to enter a monastic order. When he became old enough he left his home in Pandok, Lucban, Quezon, and went to Manila. There he learned that Filipinos were not wanted in the religious orders and that even as seculars Filipinos were discriminated against. He stayed in Manila for a while, working in the Hospital of San Juan de Dios and studying theology. Eventually he returned home and founded a religious brotherhood which he named Cofradia de San Jose. The society grew quickly, soon spreading into other provinces. Cruz sought to get official recognition for his society but was turned down by both ecclesiastical and colonial authorities. He was thus unable to be in an order *within* the church and was refused permission to found one *outside* the church. Nonetheless, the Cofradia continued meeting in secret, growing all the while.[88]

On October 19, 1840, one of Cruz's meetings was broken up by forces of the government, and 243 of the brotherhood were arrested.[89] Cruz went into hiding in Laguna province and contin-

ued to recruit members as the popularity of his cause increased. He escaped from further attacks, but in 1841 he proclaimed war in the name of religious freedom. His followers began to call him "King of the Tagalogs," and the revolt grew greatly in numbers. On October 23, 1841, Governor Joaquin Ortega of Tayabas, leading 150 soldiers and accompanied by several friars, attacked Cruz and his men. Cruz, aided by Negrito archers, withstood the attack, and Governor Ortega was killed in the battle.[90]

Alarmed, the government sent in reinforcements, and Cruz was finally captured. The "King of the Tagalogs" was executed; his body was cut into pieces and hung at the crossroads of the towns where the Cofradia de San Jose had been most popular. Thus Apolinario de la Cruz became "the first martyr to religious liberty and Filipino priestly equality."[91] After his death the brotherhood disbanded.

Influence of New Forces in the Islands

While these uprisings were continuing within the country, events were taking place in other parts of the world that also began to have a significant effect upon the development of Philippine nationalism.

There were powerful forces in the colonial government and in the church determined to resist all attempts at change. Spain, after the glorious heights reached in building an empire, had begun a steady decline and had been left behind by the modern world. In the words of Edward Gaylord Bourne, describing the change of spirit that took place in Spain: "Bending every energy for years to stay the tide of change and progress, suppressing freedom of thought with relentless vigor, and quarantining herself and her dependencies against new ideas, conservatism grew to be her settled habit and the organs of government became ossified."[92] What happened to Spain in general also affected the Spanish church. James LeRoy, one of the early American authorities on the Philippines, wrote of Catholicism in Spain: "The Church which was opposed to liberalism was represented in the Philippines by ministers (the friars) who were probably the most reactionary and medieval in the world, the most backward mo-

nastic products of the most backward of the old nations of Europe."[93]

Yet the forces of change were not to be stayed. The nineteenth century was a time of great democratic stirrings across the face of Europe. Eventually they penetrated even into Spain. In 1868, Spain experienced a revolution which overthrew the monarchy and set up a republic. This radical departure from the past immediately began to be felt in the Philippines as liberal-minded officials replaced those of the old regime. Governor-General Carlos de la Torre came to the islands and began to inculcate the ideals of democracy, seeking to treat Filipino and Spaniard alike.[94] Plans were laid for the establishment of a national university free of clerical control. Liberalism found its way into student circles, and hopes for independence became articulate.[95] The hopes of the Filipino priests for increased recognition and leadership responsibilities were revived, especially as liberal Spanish churchmen, such as Gregorio Martinez, Archbishop of Manila from 1862 to 1875, gave them encouragement.[96]

During this same period the Suez Canal was opened (in 1869), making the Philippines much more accessible to Europe. Not only trade but the flow of ideas increased. The relaxing of censorship allowed many books, formerly banned, to come into the islands. Filipino students studying abroad became acquainted with democratic ideals and anticlerical movements in Europe.[97]

Most unfortunately, this brief liberalization received a severe setback with the restoration of the monarchy in Spain in 1870. In 1871 Torre was replaced as governor-general by Rafael de Izquierdo, a reactionary and cruel despot. Izquierdo revived censorship of the press and stopped the Filipinization of the parishes. With the backing of the friars, the governor-general decreed that demands for political reform were treasonable and punishable by death. He would stop at nothing to bring the Philippines back into complete subjection to Spain. In this desire he found ample support from the religious orders.[98]

The Martyrdom of the Three Priests

In 1872, two hundred Filipino soldiers and workers mutinied

in Cavite because of the repressive measures (such as the imposition of tribute) being undertaken by the government. The mutiny was quickly put down, but the ecclesiastical and colonial authorities seized upon this event as the opportunity for bringing the Filipinos further into submission. A number of Filipino leaders, including several priests who had been agitating for reform, were promptly imprisoned for long terms.

Among those arrested were three priests who had been particularly troublesome to the friars because of their forceful leadership among the people. They were Fathers José Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora. Of the three, Dr. Burgos was the most outstanding. An able student of theology and philosophy, he had written articles defending the Filipino clergy and was serving as a curate of the Manila Cathedral. Father Zamora, young and able, was also a curate of the Cathedral and a spokesman for the Filipino clergy. Father Gomez, an eighty-four-year-old parish priest in Bacoor, Cavite, had long defended his fellow clergymen in their just grievances against the friars.

Although there was no concrete proof that these priests had anything at all to do with the Cavite Mutiny, they were hastily tried, found guilty, and sentenced to die by the garrote. Before the execution on February 17, 1872, Governor Izquierdo asked Archbishop Martinez to unfrock them so that they would die dishonored by the church as well as by the government. Although the friars supported Izquierdo in his plans, the archbishop did not, and he refused to unfrock his priests, even though he could not prevent the execution.[99]

To complete the silencing of the national clergy, the governor-general had many of them exiled to the Marianas Islands, where they would be able to exert no leadership whatsoever. Many other able Filipinos were either killed or exiled in order to quench the rising flames of revolt. Eventually, however, groups of exiles in Europe and Asia began to lay plans for the final destruction of Spanish tyranny in the Philippines.[100] The attempts of Governor Izquierdo to destroy nationalism only intensified it as the three martyred priests became the symbols of a people united as never before in a common cause.

The Philippine Revolution

Following 1872, events moved steadily toward their climax as the Filipinos' desire for freedom from the shackles of Spanish colonialism and religious tyranny found new avenues of expression.

Events Leading to the Revolution

THE PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT

Despite the continuing despotism in the islands, Filipino patriots, scattered far and wide, founded the "Propaganda Movement" to encourage and aid the cause of Philippine nationalism. This movement was reformist rather than revolutionary in outlook. Educated Filipino leaders, such as José Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar, wrote articles that uncovered before the outside world the conditions in the Philippines. They pleaded for reforms, such as the equality of Filipinos and Spaniards before the law, representation by Filipinos in the Spanish *Cortes,* fairer treatment for the Filipino priests, and the granting of basic liberties to the people. By and large, these moderate demands did not receive a sympathetic hearing in Spain, and the resentment of the Filipinos—both the common people and their leaders—mounted.[101]

THE WRITINGS OF JOSÉ RIZAL

The greatest of the reformers was José Rizal, who has since become known as the Father of the Philippine Republic. Rizal, a brilliant physician, scientist, poet, and linguist, wrote extensively and worked tirelessly for the introduction of reforms in his native land. Moderate by nature, he never was in sympathy with those who favored revolution, but instead favored the Philippines' becoming an integral part of Spain, with the rights of the Filipinos honored and protected. Yet it is symptomatic of the tyranny of the times that such a brilliant reformer was accused of treason and, on December 30, 1896, was shot in the back by a firing squad.[102]

His most influential writings were two novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo.* As these novels show, Rizal was a deeply religious man, although, like so many of his day, he had

rejected his childhood Catholicism and had become a Mason and a "free believer."[103] In depicting the life of his people, Rizal portrayed the deepening conflict that had developed between nationalism and Spanish Catholicism in the islands. Stating his purpose in writing *Noli Me Tangere,* he said:

I have written of the social conditions and the life of our beliefs, our hopes, our longings, our complaints and our sorrows; I have unmasked the hypocrisy which, under the cloud of religion, has come among us to impoverish and to brutalize us; I have distinguished the true religion from the false, from the superstition that traffics with the holy word to get money and to make us believe in absurdities for which Catholicism would blush, if ever it knew of them.[104]

Rizal had not let the friars' "brutalizing" of the people blind him to their initial contributions: "I realize that a true faith and sincere love for humanity guided the first missionaries to our shores; I realize the debt of gratitude we owe to those noble hearts."[105] Yet, he asks, "because the forefathers were virtuous, should we consent to the abuses of their degenerate descendants?"[106] These abuses were stifling the Filipinos and could not be allowed to continue. They were a blasphemy against God and a prostitution of real Christianity. Thus he continues:

And thou, Religion, preached for suffering humanity, hast thou forgotten thy mission of consoling the oppressed in their misery and of humiliating the powerful in their pride? Hast thou now promises only for the rich, for those who can pay thee?[107]

. . . . . .

You say she [Spain] snatched us from error and gave us the true faith; do you call faith these outward forms, do you call religion this traffic in girdles and scapularies, truth these miracles and wonderful tales that we hear daily? Is this the law of Jesus Christ? For this it was hardly necessary that a God should allow Himself to be crucified or that we should be obliged to show eternal gratitude. Superstition existed long before—it was only necessary to systematize it and raise the price of its merchandise![108]

These writings of Rizal, though banned by the church, were read avidly by the people. By articulating their own unhappy ex-

perience, Rizal's novels assisted in completing the alienation the people had come to feel from the church as represented by the religious orders.

THE KATIPUNAN

Before Rizal's death, he was sent into exile by the government. In his absence, Andrés Bonifacio, a student of the French Revolution and a person of much more radical belief than Rizal, stepped to the fore as the leader of the nationalist movement. In 1892 Bonifacio founded a revolutionary society called the Kataaskataasang Kagalanggalang Katipunan Ng Mga Anak Ng Bayan (meaning "Highest and Most Respectable Association of the Sons of the People") which soon came to be called simply the Katipunan. This secret association, some of whose ideals showed the influence of Masonry, had as its purpose the securing of independence from Spain.[109] The Katipunan was not definitely discovered by Spain until August, 1896, when the wife of a member told all she knew to her priest during confession. The friars were violently opposed to the association and did all in their power to destroy it. They were given added police powers by the Archbishop of Manila, Bernardino Nozaleda. Terror spread through the countryside. Methods of the Inquisition were applied; cruel torture was used to secure information about the secret society. The government also stepped up its activities to halt the revolutionary stirrings. Torture, exile, imprisonment, and death—these were the weapons of the collapsing order.[110]

The revolution, however, was not to be stopped. Thousands, mostly of the poorer classes, were attracted to the Katipunan. The harsh methods used by Spain and the friars, especially in the senseless death of José Rizal, only brought the people closer together and insured the continuation of the revolution.

Anticlericalism and the Revolution

Religion was inextricably bound up with the whole rise of Philippine nationalism and the course of the revolution. On the side of Spain, the religious orders were aligned with those forces seeking to stop the revolution and preserve the status quo. On the

side of the Philippines, friar-abuses loomed large in the list of grievances that the people had against the colonial power.

Anticlericalism, so strong in Latin America and Europe in the last century, easily found its way to the Philippines because of the magnified religious abuses there. While it was not the only issue in the revolution, all the other issues—the desires for independence, equality, justice, freedom, and land reform—were related to the religious question because of the wide scope of the friars' powers and their abuses.[111] The religious orders remained aligned to the end with the forces of reaction that were stifling Philippine nationhood.

The extent of the people's bitterness toward the friars is manifested in the writings and statements of the Filipino revolutionaries. Emilio Aguinaldo, who was to become the first President of the Philippine Republic, gave expression to this widespread feeling when he said:

> It is a widely known and notorious fact, recognized by all the foreigners who have studied Philippine affairs, that the primary causes of the Philippine revolution were the ecclesiastical corporations which, taking advantage of the corrupt Spanish Government, have robbed the country, preventing progress and liberty.[112]

While this strong statement does not acknowledge other "primary causes" of the revolution, similar statements were widely made at the time and were characteristic of the feelings of the revolutionists. While in prison, Isabelo de los Reyes (at whom we shall look more closely in connection with the founding of the Aglipayan movement) published a lengthy list of grave charges against the friars[113] that confirmed the picture of the missionaries José Rizal had drawn in his celebrated novels. Thus, "despite the fact that the majority of the Filipinos professed loyalty to the Church, the Revolution was directed against the friars."[114]

Yet it is important to note that this anticlerical sentiment remained directed *solely* toward the *foreign* priests. The Filipino priests, who had not been in any position of power or prestige within the church, did not suffer from the people's anticlerical feelings. Three of their compatriots had been the first martyrs of

the revolution, and the native priests felt the sting of foreign discrimination and contempt more than did many of the laity.

This alliance of the native clergy with the revolutionists' cause is particularly significant when one considers that many of the revolutionary leaders not only were anticlerical, but were also Masons and strongly influenced by the rationalism and agnosticism of the day. Much that the priests believed, the revolutionists thought of as superstition; yet, cognizant of the simple religious beliefs of the masses, the revolutionists did not press their differences with the priests, and, at least for the time being, the alliance held.[115]

The revolutionists were likewise careful to point out that the the revolution was not directed against the Roman church. The Spanish friars tried desperately to convince the people that efforts against the religious orders were in actuality rebellion against the church. To a certain extent the friars were right, for an overwhelming proportion of the representatives of the church in the islands were members of the orders, which had stamped upon the Philippines the imprint of monastic Spanish Catholicism. While the Aglipayan schismatics of 1902 were to agree at least in this regard with the friars—and as a result were eventually to reject Rome along with the Spanish friars—the revolution itself never went to the extreme of letting its anticlericalism move very overtly against the church. The revolutionary leaders strongly held "that they fought the friars and not the Church and that if the Church was endangered the blame was to be laid on the friars who obstructed the formation of a Filipino clergy whose business was to see to it that the interests of the Church in the Philippines were protected."[116]

The End of the Friar Era

The Philippine Revolution started at Balintawak near Manila on August 26, 1896, under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo. The fighting was widespread, but neither side was able to achieve a clear-cut victory. In late 1897 a stalemate was reached, and a momentary peace followed, with the insurrectionists in charge of large areas of the country. The peace did not last long, for the

Spanish government continued to alienate the people. Then in the spring of 1898 the revolution was interrupted by the beginning of the Spanish-American War. Admiral Dewey sailed into Manila Bay and sank the Spanish fleet, thus adding a whole new dimension to the war. With Dewey's victory the Filipinos had new hope. Spain tried to win the support of the Filipinos against the Americans but was unsuccessful. The revolutionists proclaimed the independence of the Philippines in June, 1898, and the following September they set up the Republic of the Philippines. Their hopes were soon shattered, however, for in the Treaty of Paris the United States and Spain discussed the Philippines without hearing the opinions of the Filipinos, and the islands were ceded to the United States. A tragic lack of sympathy and understanding of the whole Philippine situation on the part of the United States led to the renewal of hostilities, with the Philippines declaring war on America in early 1899. A long and bloody war ensued and the Philippines was finally defeated, entering into another forty-seven years of being denied her independence.[117]

These events insured the ending of friar domination in the islands. During the fighting, the long pent-up wrath of the Filipinos exploded against the orders. When the revolution started in 1896, there were 1,124 friars in the islands. During the fighting, forty of that number were captured and killed. At Imus, Cavite, thirteen were captured and savagely killed, one being burned to death, another cut to pieces, and still another put on a bamboo pole and roasted.[118] Many were publicly beaten and treated in a most cruel manner. Between three and four hundred were taken prisoner, and the rest escaped to Manila.

Philippine Catholicism in the Twentieth Century

The twentieth century has brought vast changes into the life of the Roman church in the Philippines. The position she held during the Spanish era is gone. Neither during the American colonial era nor during the time since Philippine independence have conditions even remotely resembled the period when the Catholic church stood unchallenged in the archipelago. Yet despite some serious weaknesses, Roman Catholicism in the islands is stronger

spiritually than it was in 1896 and is more responsive to national needs than it was in the past.

Radical Change in the Church's Status Following American Occupation

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

America's pluralistic background had led her to establish separation between church and state within her own boundaries, and she followed the same pattern in the Philippines. As never before, the islands were opened to freedom of thought and expression. The Roman church was no longer the official state church under the patronage of the governing power. No longer did clerics hold positions in the colonial government, nor were they able to censor and control the national life as before. No longer was education under their sole direction.

America proclaimed the separation of church and state, declaring the freedom of religion as well as the establishment of public schools. Protestant missionaries, Bible Societies, the Young Men's Christian Association, and other groups entered the islands. The Aglipayan schism from Rome was launched and grew rapidly. American schoolteachers, many of them Protestant, came to the archipelago.

Thus on many fronts and in a variety of ways, the Roman church found herself severely tested. The old order had passed away, and a new had come. If she were to survive, she would have to adapt quickly and wisely to her new environment.

SALE OF THE FRIAR LANDS

One of the most immediate issues America had to settle at the turn of the century was the problem of the large amount of land owned by the Dominican, Augustinian, and Recollect orders.[119] Because of the people's hatred of the friars and resentment at their tenancy practices, agrarian unrest would continue as long as the status quo prevailed. The friars had fled for their lives during the fighting and few of them returned afterward, because of the hostility of the people.

The American government finally decided that the best plan

would be to buy the friar lands and then offer them for sale to the people in small plots. Negotiations ensued between Governor-General William Howard Taft and the Vatican. After much bargaining, the United States agreed to pay over $7,000,000 (or more than $18.00 an acre) for 403,000 acres of friar landholdings. Although the price was high by Philippine standards, America felt it was worth it in view of the unrest the purchase would settle.[120]

As a result of the sale, the friars found themselves removed from the whole land question. Possessions that they had been building up for years were almost entirely disposed of. Although they retained some business property in Manila and other cities—which today is extremely valuable—the most substantial and controversial part of their economic holdings was sold to the United States.

New Directions in Philippine Catholicism

In assessing Philippine Catholicism during the final phase of Spanish rule, Josef Schmidlin, the eminent Roman Catholic missiologist, says:

> Although the Philippine field at this period may be regarded as a Christian colonial commonwealth presenting a picture of great external missionary success, its Christianity betrayed many evidences of degeneration and superficiality and grave ethico-religious shortcomings; and no indigenous ecclesiastical order had been developed out of the missionary stage of operations.[121]

He goes on to point out the inadequacy of Spanish missionary methods that neglected catechetical instruction, preaching, and education, and put too much reliance upon governmental force to achieve the church's aims. This resulted, says Schmidlin, in "religious life of the people . . . confined almost wholly to exterior practices and a veneration of the saints rather than the worship of God."[122] Unfortunately, this weakness is still all too prevalent in Philippine Catholicism. Self-support is still a problem. The voluntary offerings and fees are not sufficient to maintain the work of the church. Those dioceses in which no significant work is being done by the religious orders—with their sizable funds from for-

eign sources—find development of church life slow and arduous. But in some important ways, renewal has begun.

Most importantly, the Roman church, stripped of its direct secular power, has had to concentrate on its religious and social tasks far more than before. Although still facing a critical shortage of priests, the Catholic church has undertaken a more conscientious program of religious instruction among the people. Family prayer is emphasized strongly. New efforts have been made to win tribal groups to Christianity, as mission schools and churches have been established in isolated areas previously untouched by the Church of Rome.[123] Institutional work has increased to the point that today there are over eighty charitable institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged.[124] Educational work has increased far beyond its former extent. By 1967 there were 408 Catholic grade schools, 815 Catholic high schools, and 164 Catholic colleges and universities.[125] There are now some Filipino Catholic missionaries being sent to other countries. Highly significant research is being carried on at the Institute of Philippine Culture at Ateneo de Manila University, which is providing invaluable insights into Philippine life and culture.[126] Since World War II, there has been a great increase in the church's social witness through such groups as Catholic Action, the Institute of Social Order, and Young Christian Workers. On the labor front, the Federation of Free Workers and the Federation of Free Farmers have been endorsed by the hierarchy.

The Filipino people as a whole have been responsive to these changes. The bitterness of many of the people toward the Roman church has lessened over the years, a process that began with the ousting of Spain from the islands and the selling of the friar lands. From that time on, the Catholic church no longer wielded the great political and economic power which had corrupted it in the Spanish era. The new climate of growing democracy and pluralism fostered during the American era placed Catholicism in a new milieu out of which new emphases emerged. The coming of Catholic missionaries from America and from various European countries helped also to liberalize the general nature of Hispanic-Philippine Catholicism.[127]

The Filipino Secular Clergy in the Twentieth Century

In his negotiations with the Vatican regarding the sale of the friar lands, Taft also asked that unwanted Spanish missionaries be returned to Spain and that at least some of the Spanish hierarchy be replaced by American prelates. Although no agreement was reached on the issue, this is actually what took place in the years that followed.[128] The Spanish friars had already fled from the provinces, and it was evident that, with some exceptions, they were not wanted back. In the two years following U.S. occupation, 700 to 800 Spanish priests left the islands;[129] some died and were not replaced, until by 1903 there were only 246 remaining.[130]

GAINS MADE

Although new priests—missionaries from countries such as Holland, Belgium, and America—began to come to replace the departed friars the situation was favorable to implementation of the demands that the number of Filipino priests be increased and that they be given more opportunities for leadership. These demands grew as Filipinos in other fields were able to move into positions of national importance. In government, education, law, medicine, teaching, and other fields outstanding Filipino leadership emerged.

Religious vocations for young Filipinos were encouraged and began to bear fruit. Some Catholic bishops in the United States provided opportunities for promising Filipino candidates for the priesthood to study in American seminaries.[131] Increasingly, Filipino secular priests were ordained and found their way into the leading parishes of the country, so that by 1940 many, though not yet a majority, of the nearly one thousand parishes were under the national clergy.[132]

In 1905—well over three centuries after Catholic work had begun in the islands—Jorge Barlin of Nueva Caceras was consecrated as the first Filipino bishop.[133] American prelates, however, succeeded Spanish bishops in the other vacated dioceses. Jeremiah J. Harty became Archbishop of Manila and was succeeded by Michael J. O'Doherty, who held the position for the following thirty-nine years.[134]

Finally, in 1934, Gabriel M. Reyes became the Archbishop of Cebu. In 1949, he was appointed Auxiliary Bishop to the Archbishop of Manila. He was the first Filipino to hold those positions.[135] In 1960 Philippine Catholicism found real reason to rejoice as Rufino J. Santos, Archbishop of Manila, was named as the first cardinal in the nation's history. Significantly, this first Filipino cardinal delivered his initial message to the people neither in Spanish nor in English. He presented it instead in Tagalog, the new national language.

THE UNRESOLVED ISSUE: LACK OF FULL SELF-DIRECTION

Despite the gains made in the twentieth century, the continuing shortage of priests in the islands and the continuing heavy influence of the foreign clergy point to a serious weakness in Philippine Catholicism. Thus today, after more than four centuries in the Philippines, the Roman church still has not achieved complete self-direction.

From the local parish to the top of the hierarchy, the national clergy has lagged far behind what should be expected. By 1926, only *one* Filipino had been ordained in this century in the Archdiocese of Manila,[136] although the Manila region is the area of the nation's greatest concentration of population, institutions, and wealth. There are not nearly enough Filipinos entering the secular priesthood to staff the parishes and keep up with the rapid rate of population increase. In 1960 there were only 1,595 Filipino secular priests among over nineteen million Catholics (or over eighty percent of the total population),[137] with only two of the fourteen dioceses in the country (Capiz and Sorsogon) completely served by national priests. Commenting on this overall situation, Maryknoll Father John Considine said that in the Philippines there are "fewer local clergy than are found among the million and a half Vietnamese Catholics across the China Sea. Here is one of the major weak spots of the Church in all Asia."[138] Instead of being on the offensive in Asia, the Philippine Catholic church has been too sadly undermanned to take care of itself. Whereas Roman Catholicism generally considers one priest for each one thousand Catholics to be an ideal situation, in 1953 the situation in the Philippines in

comparison with other places was as shown in the following table:[139]

Place	*Ratio of Catholics/Priest*
Belgium	517
United States	620
Latin America	5,104
Philippines	6,340
Manila	3,000
Cotabato (Province)	15,000
Guatemala	12,475

Thus we see in the Philippine shortage of priests a situation unequaled anywhere in the world, save in Guatemala. The testimony of a Maryknoll missionary dramatizes the situation vividly:

> In many villages Mass has never been said. People die without the sacraments because no priest can be called to administer them. Baptized Catholics often know nothing about their Faith because no one has instructed them. . . . Many Filipinos go to church only three times in their lives: to be baptized, to be married and to be buried. . . . I know of a parish that has 90,000 Catholics and only one priest to care for them.[140]

Along with the shortage of priests has gone the problem of the slowness with which leadership has been turned over to Filipinos. In the hierarchy, by 1960, of the ten archbishops (eleven if the Apostolic Nuncio is included), nine were nationals, and of the twenty-nine bishops, eighteen were Filipinos. Most of these prelates have been named in recent years. Although a Filipino Cardinal was named in 1960, it was an extremely belated recognition of Filipino leadership in a nation that has for centuries had a predominantly Catholic population. It came fourteen years after national independence, during which period of the Republic the Philippines had distinguished herself by producing such leaders as Carlos P. Romulo, who was elected president of the United Nations General Assembly, and Ramon Magsaysay, who, as Philippine President, was recognized as one of Asia's leading statesmen. In contrast, Protestantism, after less than three *decades* in the Philippines, recognized outstanding Filipino leadership when Enrique C. Sobrepeña became Moderator of the United Evangelical

church in 1928. It should further be noted that Rufino J. Cardinal Santos is outranked in his own country by the Apostolic Nuncio, the Most Reverend Carlo Martini, an Italian.[141]

Lack of Indigenization of the Religious Orders

While the situation in the secular priesthood has shown marked, though slow, improvement in this century (despite the grave weaknesses indicated above), in the religious orders the situation has not shown such marked improvement, and grave weaknesses also exist there. Filipinos enter these religious communities only rarely, and even more rarely rise to positions of influence. This means that there is heavy foreign domination not only within the life of the orders themselves, but in the many institutions and other types of work in which they are engaged.

It should be noted that what is here being brought into question is not foreign *influence,* but foreign *domination.* It is but natural to expect that a worldwide church should have blended into it influences from many cultures and peoples. But when this influence becomes so strong that it turns to domination and stifles natural, indigenous growth from within the culture, then an unhealthy situation exists. From the sixteenth century until the present, the religious orders have been at work in the Philippines. Yet, contrary to long-standing Catholic mission theory,[142] these orders have not adequately encouraged the entrance of Filipinos into their communities, nor have they allowed what Filipino regulars there are to hold positions of responsibility commensurate with their ability.

Since the beginning of this century, many new orders have come to the Philippines from various countries. By 1960 there were thirty different religious orders and congregations for men in the islands.[143] Yet among their member priests, while there were 1,647 foreigners, there were only 229 Filipinos.[144] The Society of Jesus had 102 Filipino priests out of a total of 272, but the proportion of Filipino member priests in most of the other orders was much lower than that of the Jesuits.[145] None of the major orders had ever been headed by a Filipino[146] until late 1964, when Horacio de la Costa was named Provincial Superior of the Society

of Jesus in the Philippines, thus becoming the first Filipino to head a Catholic order in the archipelago. By 1967 the ratio of Filipino priests to foreigners in the thirty orders and congregations had improved somewhat, though not greatly; there were 386 Filipino priests and 1,865 foreign priests.[147]

As late as the end of 1957, the slowness with which Filipinos were being given positions of leadership in the schools of these orders was still most evident. All eight major seminaries had foreign rectors, and only two of the eight had any Filipinos on their faculties. Twelve other minor seminaries had foreign rectors, and only three of these had Filipino faculty members. There were seven minor seminaries under Filipino secular priests. The rectors of the three Catholic universities, including the University of Santo Tomas (founded before Harvard), were foreigners, as were the rectors of most of the Catholic colleges for men.[148]

Continuing Concern over Filipinization

The lack of indigenous leadership is of great concern to many Filipinos today, Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic alike. This is expressed frequently on the contemporary Philippine scene. Especially since the granting of independence, the growth of national self-consciousness and the search for national self-identity have on more than one occasion brought the lack of self-leadership in the Roman church into the arena of nationwide attention. Three examples will suffice to demonstrate this.

THE RIZAL BILL

In 1956 a bill was introduced in the Senate that was designed to increase appreciation and understanding of the national hero, José Rizal, and to stimulate interest in the national heritage which was so overshadowed during the colonial era by Spanish and American emphases. The bill provided that Rizal's two great novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo,* were to be compulsory reading in Philippine schools.

The response of the hierarchy to the bill was vigorous. While affirming nationalism and the greatness of Rizal, the Catholic bishops objected strongly to the bill. They said that Rizal's novels

were harmful to Catholicism and would undermine the faith of the people. They pointed out many passages that are "against Catholic Dogma and morals," and which "disparage divine worship, especially the veneration of images and relics, devotion to the blessed Virgin and the Saints, the use of scapulars, cords and habits."[149] Thus, said the hierarchy:

> This is indeed a matter of concern to all of us, dear children, and We are the first to regret that books that were written by our foremost national hero inspired by the most genuine patriotism, have included such substantial defects in their religious aspect as to render them objectionable reading in such sense that only with due permission obtained from the ecclesiastical authority may these books be read by Catholics.[150]

The bishops went on to state that Rizal wrote these books during his period of Masonry and anticlericalism, but that he had recanted at his death and had died reconciled to the church.[151] They therefore proposed that an anthology of selected passages from all of Rizal's writings be prepared that would contain significant patriotic passages but none of the religiously offensive portions.[152]

A great deal of national discussion took place over the proposed bill. Eventually, an amended bill was passed which incorporated the hierarchy's recommendations, by and large, but even this weakened bill has not been effectively implemented in the ensuing years. Joaquin Jaramillo, a Filipino priest who urged passage of the original bill, was banned from preaching and administering the sacraments and fell into disfavor in the church.[153]

THE MEMORIAL TO POPE PIUS XII

In November, 1957, six Filipino priests sent a memorial to the Vatican urging greater recognition of Filipino leadership in the Roman Catholic church in the islands. The leader of the group was the dynamic and popular Jesuit priest, the Rev. Hilario A. Lim. Father Lim is a member of the prominent Lim family of Zamboanga. His uncle, Luis Lim, although initially imprisoned by the American forces when they occupied the Philippines at the turn of the century, later earned distinction as the first civil governor of Mindanao. Roseller Lim, first cousin of Father Lim, is a well-known

lawyer and labor leader who was a senator at the time of the memorial. Hilario Lim received his seminary training in Massachusetts and eventually became the Retreat Master of La Ignaciana, the retreat house of the Society of Jesus in Manila. At the time of the memorial he was teaching at Ateneo de Cagayan in Mindanao.

The five other petitioners were the Rev. Fr. Benito Vargas, the oldest Filipino Dominican; the Rev. Salvador Calsado, a Recollect; the Rev. Fr. Antonio Garin, an Augustinian; the Rev. Fr. Julio Obvial, the oldest Filipino Franciscan; and the Rev. Ambrosio Manaligod, a Divine Word Father.[154] While Father Lim was the leader and spokesman for the memorial, Father Manaligod was the intellectual of the group. Having received his Doctor of Sacred Theology from the University of Santo Tomas, by 1957 Manaligod had become Prefect of Theology at Christ the King Seminary in Quezon City. He had made an intensive study of Catholic missiology and had recognized the wide disparity between the official theory of a self-led church and its woeful lack of implementation in the Philippines. This study became the basis of the memorial, which had three purposes: (1) to increase the number of Filipinos in the religious priesthood; (2) to call for a systematic effort to admit Filipinos into religious orders and congregations; and (3) to advocate more Filipino leadership in the church.

The memorial carefully showed how the desire for greater Filipinization in the church was fully backed by Catholic mission theory as formulated by missiologists, popes, and the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide. For example, the memorial quoted Pope Pius XII himself, who had said:

> The magnanimous and noble purpose which missionaries have is the propagation of the Faith in the new lands in such a way that the Church may ever become more firmly established in them and as soon as possible reach such a stage of development that it can continue to exist and flourish without the aid of missionary congregations. These missionary congregations do not serve their own ends, but it is their task to use every endeavor to realize the lofty purpose We have already mentioned. When this has been attained, then let them be happy to turn to other fields.[155]

Following numerous statements such as this, the petitioners

then presented documented sections on the long, slow struggle in the Roman church in the Philippines for the development of indigenous leadership, especially in the religious orders. The entire presentation was factual and at the same time respectful in tone. The petitioners left the Pope with these questions:

> How can Catholic Philippines ever fulfill her providential mission in the Far East if the doors of the old Religious Orders and Congregations do not really and sincerely open to admit and form native Filipino candidates? How can we ever hope to become missionaries to our Asian neighbors, if we are not given full opportunity to become missionaries in our own country? How can we ever hope to become Christian leaders in a pagan Far East if we are not given the full right and exercise of leadership in our own country?[158]

No forthright answer to these questions was received from the Vatican. In directly challenging the status quo in their church, the six priests fell into disfavor with powerful voices in Philippine Catholicism. Nonetheless, widespread public discussion of the memorial brought this long-smoldering issue to the national consciousness.

Several months later Senator Roseller Lim introduced a bill in the Senate which provided that the head of every educational institution in the country should be a Filipino rather than an alien. This was one of the issues that the memorial to the Vatican had raised, as it had pointed out how foreign missionaries continued to control most of the educational institutions run by the religious orders.

With the issue now on the floor of the Senate, the mass media discussed the issue as never before. Father Lim, as the spokesman of the original memorial, was in great demand as a speaker before civic and religious groups all over the country. Articles and letters by him appeared in a number of newspapers and magazines. Bearing placards espousing the cause of the native clergy, he paraded in public and even entered into a fast on the steps of the Senate building.

Finally, on September 22, 1958, by direct orders from the Jesuit Congregation Superior in Rome, Hilario Lim was expelled

from the Society of Jesus.[157] The Very Rev. Francis X. Clark, an American and Jesuit Provincial Superior of the Philippines, said that Lim had been dismissed for behavior "incompatible" with that required of a Jesuit.[158] There was a great deal of public reaction against the expulsion. One leading daily newspaper commented acidly that Lim had been "punished for patriotism" and went on to editorialize:

> . . . is Filipinism inconsistent with Catholicism or should we say, the love of God? That may be so only from the point of view of anti-Filipino foreigners. Anti-Filipino elements who would have our people believe that they offend God if they love their country should be sent back to where they belong.[159]

Despite such initial reactions, however, the entrenched leaders, foreign and native, of Philippine Catholicism eventually won the day. The six priests were, in various ways, effectively silenced, and passed into obscurity.

THE BILL FOR NATIONALIZATION OF SCHOOLS

Let us now retrace our steps in order to examine briefly the bill Senator Lim introduced in 1958 for the Filipinization of all schools in the islands. Senator Lim said that the bill was not designed to take from the church its right to appoint its own schools' heads, but that it did seek to insure that all such heads were natural-born citizens.[160] Citing many of the same facts that had been mentioned in the memorial to Pope Pius XII, the Senator said:

> While we have twenty Filipino bishops and seven archbishops, they have no control at all over our 587 Catholic schools, colleges and universities, which are controlled by foreigners. Let us not remain forever a sovereign Catholic nation with a captive Catholic education. Foreign educators are most welcome, but let them be our guests, not our masters.[161]

In reply to the Senator's bill, the hierarchy made a lengthy statement that pointed out the dangers of excessive nationalism and emphasized the constructive and helpful role which foreign missionaries had played in building an educationally strong na-

tion.[162] By effectively attacking the bill in its weakest aspects, the opposition was able to defeat it. In addition, Senator Lim, a practicing Roman Catholic, was expelled from the Knights of Columbus.[163]

Although the bill was defeated, Roseller Lim has pointed out that since the priests' memorial and the bill on school nationalization there has been a perceptible increase in Filipinization of the leadership in Catholic schools. Thus, the former senator is gratified that such efforts as his have begun to achieve their original purpose.[164]

The 1960 Statement of the Hierarchy on Nationalism

On February 11, 1960, the hierarchy released a statement on nationalism which it had formulated at its annual meeting in December, 1959.[165] The bishops affirmed nationalism by saying:

> Filipinism, which is nationalism for Filipinos, means hard work and generous sacrifice for the welfare of the Philippines in the temporal order, genuine love for Filipino culture in its nobler aspects, sincere appreciation of our historic past, honesty in public as well as in private life, mutual cooperation in common endeavors, scrupulous administration of public affairs, faithful compliance with the laws, unselfish acceptance of the burden of services required by the nation, payment of taxes and sincere love for national symbols and institutions.[166]

The bishops went on to warn against the perversion of Filipinism that occurs "whenever it is used to violate the rights of God, of man, of the family or of other nations."[167] Pointing to the responsibilities of aliens in the country to work for the good of the nation and to abide by its laws and appreciate its heritage, the bishops also warned of hostile attitudes "toward foreigners just because they are foreigners."[168]

In dealing with the specific relationship of the church to nationalism, the bishops cautioned:

> Religion, as the primary relation between God and man, and the Catholic Church in particular as divine in origin, in means, in purpose and in authority, and universal in its mission, is beyond the scope of nationalism. The doctrines and the virtues taught by the Church are without doubt

incentives for the practice of true patriotism, but any interference with her work from "nationalistic movements" is a violation of the divinely granted freedom of the Church to pursue in her own way the universal mission assigned to her Divine Founder. She will always have the welfare of the Philippines at heart, she will always teach her children to love their country and to respect and obey the properly constituted authorities of the State, she will always oppose all subversive activities which threaten our national life, but her specific Filipinism consists in what she is now doing—the formation of a Filipino clergy that is worthy of the office they hold, that of "ministers of Christ; dispensers of the mysteries of God" (I Cor. 4:1).[169]

The overall impact of this total statement is constructive in affirming positive aspects of nationalism, but at the same time making clear certain dangers. The bishops also emphasized that the gospel must be preached without nationalistic controls or interference. At the same time, it is to be regretted that the hierarchy was not willing to admit their church's own historical record of thwarting national development and her own great need for stronger indigenous leadership. There was no sign of prophetic penitence; rather, a pious assurance was offered that the church "will always have the welfare of the Philippines at heart."

The Wider Issue

The relationship of a Catholicism that is *Roman* to a truly indigenous Christianity is a question that those concerned with Filipinization have scarcely raised, but surely it is a related issue. Much of the universalism of the Roman church is the limited universalism of the Roman Empire and of medieval Christendom in Western Europe. The Bishop of Rome, whose office reflects the past grandeur of the Roman Empire, is the head of the church. A majority of the College of Cardinals is Italian. The language of the mass is Latin (although use of the vernacular is an encouraging sign of contemporary liturgical renewal). Canon Law is distinctly Latin, as are the dogma and liturgy of the church.

Four centuries of Latin Christianity have not produced one canonized Filipino saint. For four centuries, Philippine Catholicism has been under the governance of Italian popes. The Filipino cardinal is outranked in his own country by an Italian papal

nuncio. With one exception, Western superiors direct the policies of the religious orders. A large number of the schools remain under Western leadership.

Winds of new life are blowing in much of the Roman church today, in many parts of the world. An increasing number within that denomination are raising the very same issues discussed above.[170] How these issues are resolved and how they are applied to the Philippines will go far toward determining the degree to which an indigenous Christianity becomes a reality in the archipelago.

How might this history be evaluated in the light of the norms enumerated in Chapter I?

1. The Roman church brought to the Philippines a universal faith that helped to unify and advance the people spiritually, morally, and culturally.

2. Dominated by foreign missionaries and inflexibly bound to Roman dogma, liturgy, and polity, Catholicism has failed to penetrate deeply and transform significantly wide areas of Philippine culture. It has had too few native priests, and many of the people, though Catholic by affiliation, have remained, for the most part, little influenced by the church.

3. The relationship of Roman Catholicism to Philippine nationalism has been one of marked conflict. This conflict arose in the Spanish period because of the opposition of Catholicism to national independence, its corruption and wealth, and its discrimination against the native priests. The conflict still exists because of the continued foreign domination of the church and her institutions, and because of the periodic opposition of the church to certain nationalistic goals (e.g., as seen in the opposition to the reading of José Rizal's novels in the schools).

4. Philippine Catholicism has been closely related to world-wide Roman Catholicism, although its relationship has been one of continued dependence. Despite more than four centuries that have passed since the Roman church began its mission work in the islands, it has not yet developed the self-strength to lead, support, and propagate itself fully at home, and it has sent relatively few missionaries abroad.

5. The initial contributions of Catholicism to the Philippine archipelago were important in helping to establish the reality of nationhood among the diverse island peoples. Later, however, the church, corrupted by great wealth and power (especially in the religious orders), became an obstacle to nation-building and an enemy to nationalism. Although conflicts with Philippine nationalism continue to the present, the Roman church is beginning to play a more constructive role in the task of nation-building through her schools and other institutions, as well as through her moral and spiritual influence on the people.

THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENT CHURCH AS AN OUTGROWTH OF NATIONALISM

THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENT CHURCH AS AN OUTGROWTH OF NATIONALISM

The Setting in Which the Philippine Independent Church Was Born

THE TUMULTUOUS last decades of the nineteenth century in the Philippines were years in which Philippine nationalism and religion coalesced in a mighty effort to rid the country of Spanish governmental and ecclesiastical bondage. Hopes for reform, so long denied by the colonial and church authorities, gave way eventually to violent revolution as the Filipinos attempted to rid the islands once and for all of foreign oppression.

The Identification of the Native Priests with the Revolution

The oppression of the native priesthood by the Roman Catholic church became one of the principal causes of the Philippine Revolution. The three priests, Burgos, Zamora, and Gomez, along with Dr. José Rizal, became the hero-martyrs of the Revolution and welded the demands for political independence with the hopes for religious freedom. The Roman church, so hopelessly allied with Spanish interests, simply did not comprehend the scope of Filipino dissatisfaction with the friars, nor did it sympathize with the legitimate desires of the native priests. Thus the Filipino priests found themselves step by step drawing closer to the efforts of their fellow countrymen for political freedom. Although these priests remained loyal to Rome, they found it impossible to remain loyal to the Spanish hierarchy and the Spanish friars. Despite their train-

ing in ecclesiastical obedience, the Filipino priests hoped that they could be loyal to both their country and the Pope while working for the ouster of the Spanish missionaries. The revolutionary leaders fully sympathized with the plight of the Filipino priests, and the two groups found in each other natural allies. When the Revolution did break out, therefore, the priests were an integral part of it.

The Leadership of Gregorio Aglipay in the Revolutionary Government

The outstanding leader and spokesman for the Filipino priests was Father Gregorio Aglipay of Ilocos Norte. Like his fellow priests, Aglipay favored the Philippine Revolution. He believed that it would bring the ousting of the friars and the confiscation of their lands, as well as the replacement of the Spanish hierarchy by Filipino bishops. He felt that Philippine independence was the right thing for his people, and he envisaged this newly independent nation as being a union of church and state, just as it had always been; but this new union would include a Filipino hierarchy which would be able to deal directly with the Vatican.[1]

Aglipay was in good standing with Archbishop Nozaleda of Manila when the Americans came to the Philippines. In late 1898 Nozaleda sent Aglipay into northern Luzon to encourage resistance to the Protestant Americans, an errand which Aglipay at this stage was only too glad to undertake. Even though Father Aglipay was close to the revolutionary cause, the archbishop saw him as a useful ally at the moment who might help swing the Revolution to the side of Spain against the Americans, thus helping to save the situation for both Spain and the Roman church.[2]

Meanwhile, the revolutionists had proclaimed Philippine independence, and Emilio Aguinaldo had been elected President. Father Aglipay was the only priest who was a member of the Congress and hence was in a strategic position in the new government. In addition, on October 20, 1898, Aglipay was appointed to the position of *Vicario General Castrense* by President Aguinaldo.[3] This meant that Aglipay was the head of the Philippine church insofar as the revolutionary government was concerned, and was

thus in a position to give national leadership to the Filipino clergy.

Shortly after he became Vicar General, Aglipay visited the imprisoned Spanish Bishop Campomanes in Cagayan. Campomanes appointed him Ecclesiastical Governor of Nueva Segovia, a large diocese that covered most of northern Luzon.[4] As a result, by November, 1898, Aglipay was in a position of supreme ecclesiastical leadership in the revolutionary government, as well as having been given near-episcopal status by a Spanish bishop. Thus he had become the key religious figure in the nation.

This position of pre-eminence did not, however, last long. The Treaty of Paris, concluded in December, 1898, completely changed the situation. Although the Filipinos had expected the United States to give the islands their independence, their representatives were not even listened to at the negotiations in Paris. Indeed, American rule simply replaced Spanish sovereignty, leaving the Philippines still a colony. The Philippines, therefore, declared war against the United States; but they did not have a chance against the superior weapons of the Americans. When, early in 1899, it became obvious that America was going to defeat the Philippines, Archbishop Nozaleda switched to the American side and turned against Aglipay, who was no longer of any use to him. Whereas Philippine independence would also have meant ecclesiastical independence, Nozaleda realized that the United States would separate church and state, thus leaving the Spanish hierarchy some hope of remaining in power. In May, 1899, Nozaleda summoned an ecclesiastical court, which excommunicated Father Aglipay for using the title of *Vicario General Castrense* and for usurping ecclesiastical power.[5]

The excommunication was a great blow to Father Aglipay, who had sought to remain faithful to the Pope and who, indeed, maintained this faithfulness in the months that followed.[6] He did not believe that ultimately the Roman pontiff could disapprove his actions, which were for the good of the Filipino people, even though these actions necessitated his opposing the Spanish archbishop in Manila. Despite the excommunication, however, Father Aglipay continued his original course of action; and even though the war against the Americans grew increasingly hopeless, he con-

tinued to fight with Aguinaldo for Philippine independence from all foreign rule.

Unsuccessful Efforts to Establish a National Church

The Founding of a National Catholic Church

With Aglipay excommunicated, Apolinario Mabini sent out a manifesto urging that a National Catholic church be organized that could negotiate directly with Rome and bypass the Spanish bishops, who were enemies of the people. Mabini reasoned that since the bishops had been appointed and paid by the Spanish Crown, their authority and jurisdiction passed out of their hands with the ending of Spanish sovereignty. This left the country without ecclesiastical rulers, said Mabini, so it was but natural and necessary for the Filipino priests to rectify the situation.[7]

With the endorsement of such a key revolutionary leader as Mabini, Father Aglipay convened an ecclesiastical assembly at Paniqui, Tarlac, on October 23, 1899. The purpose of the assembly was to organize a national church completely under Filipino leadership that would nonetheless be loyal to the Pope. A provisional constitution, adopted by the twenty-seven priests present, was to be effective until the Pope named Filipino bishops. The constitution provided for a council to be set up, having two delegates from each diocese and a president elected by majority vote of the council.[8] This council had the responsibility of governing the church according to Canon Law during the unsettled interim period. It was made clear, however, that the constitution would become inoperative as soon as the Pope appointed Filipino bishops. It was further stipulated that the Filipino church would deal with no foreign bishops, except the Pope's direct representatives.[9] Aglipay was elected president *pro tempore*,[10] and Isabelo de los Reyes, then in Spain, was asked to negotiate with the Pope for the Filipino clergy.[11]

The Jesuit scholars Achútegui and Bernad stress the irregularity of these proceedings, emphasizing the point that the Spanish bishops were the duly constituted authorities and should not have been bypassed.[12] Their legalistic argument fails to deal adequately with the injustices perpetrated against the Filipinos by the Spanish

friars and prelates, and it fails to give proper credit to the Filipinos' genuine attempts to remain faithful both to their church and to their nation. Bishop Whittemore of the Episcopal church is quite correct when he states that "Paniqui was, in truth, a step toward schism; but it was a schism from the Roman, not the Holy Catholic church."[13] The Filipino priests were valiantly standing for religious liberty and their own national integrity, something that the Spanish prelates and the Roman pontiffs to that time had never seemed to comprehend.

Appeals to Rome

The Filipino priests continued their efforts to present their case before Roman authorities, hoping that they would eventually receive a fair hearing. Nozaleda adamantly refused to consider their case, but they saw a new chance when in January, 1900, the Vatican sent Archbishop Chapelle of New Orleans as the Apostolic Delegate to the islands. Chapelle immediately made clear, however, that he was not in sympathy with their cause and was fully behind the Spanish friars.[14]

The native priests still did not give up hope. They believed that if the Pope himself could hear their case, he would surely see the justice of their cause and respond favorably to their pleas. Thus they decided to send a mission to Rome to appeal directly to the Holy See.

THE CLERICAL MISSION

Two Filipino priests, Fathers Araullo and Chanco, were chosen to be the spokesmen for the national clergy, and they left the Philippines for Rome in April, 1901.[15] Their mission met with complete failure. The Holy See did not wish to hear their case, since Archbishop Chapelle had already done so. The Filipino clergymen were looked upon as troublemakers who were representing a presumptuous threat to Rome's duly constituted authority. As a result, "the pope did not listen to the cry of the Filipinos. He listended, instead, to the voice of the powerful Spanish orders."[16]

THE LAY APPEAL

The Filipino church also asked Isabelo de los Reyes, prolific

writer and revolutionist who was residing in Spain at the time, to plead its case before the Pope. He first appealed to the Papal Nuncio in Spain, but without success. He decided, therefore, to send a memorial directly to Rome in the name of the Comité Republicano Filipino de Madrid, which de los Reyes headed. The memorial said in part:

> Not only the Filipino priests but all Filipinos consider it essential to the national honor that all the ecclesiastical dignities in those Islands should be given to the native clergy, as is the case everywhere.
>
> In granting this, Your Holiness would not be doing more than to repair the injustice suffered for centuries by our clergy, of being bypassed, because of the inaccurate and biased reports sent to Rome. You will be demonstrating the undeniable love that Your Holiness has for our clergy, for our Filipino people, for justice, and for the constant traditions of the Church, according to which, these various offices are always occupied in each country by the natives of that country. . . .[17]

The appeal of de los Reyes came to naught, and he decided to return to the Philippines to work further for the revolutionary cause on home soil.[18]

The Meeting with the Protestants

In the months after the Paniqui Assembly, Aglipay became a guerrilla leader of the revolutionary forces who were fighting a last-ditch stand against the Americans. Aglipay believed that the best hope for the success of an independent Catholic church would be in an independent nation. Along with the other revolutionists, however, Aglipay was finally forced to surrender in May, 1901, months after Aguinaldo had surrendered.[19] It is significant to note that General Aglipay was symbolic of the close union between the political and religious aspirations of the Filipino people. Aglipay, a priest and a general, saw religion and nationalism as a single cause for which he would gladly die. In the decades that followed, these forces were to remain united as the dynamic behind the Philippine Independent church.

With the triumph of the American military forces, Protestant missionaries began to come into the country for the first time. Although Aglipay had formerly looked upon Protestantism with

contempt, he now saw it as a possible ally against Rome. Therefore, in August, 1901, he and de los Reyes arranged a meeting with Protestant leaders in Manila. The two revolutionists told of their religious struggle and sought the co-operation of the Protestants in building an independent Filipino church.[20]

In the light of later developments, one wonders what might have eventuated had the Protestants responded positively to Aglipay; but they did not. Instead of seeing this movement as bearing the potential of a significant reformation similar to that which had taken place in sixteenth-century Europe, the Protestants failed to be very receptive to Aglipay, for several reasons. For one thing, the Protestants were Americans, riding on the crest of America's first colonial venture in Asia. Aglipay had been one of the staunchest leaders in the war against the United States, and he was at that time still strongly Catholic in his outlook. De los Reyes was looked upon as a radical, with his prison record and his socialism. In addition, the Americans thought of their own denominations, rather than Aglipay's National Catholic church, as the precursors of the Philippine Reformation. They declined, therefore, to close ranks with Aglipay and instead asked him to join them in a movement that would present the Bible as central in doctrine and life.[21] This Aglipay was unprepared to do, and the meeting was largely a failure.[22]

The Collapse of Hopes for a National Church

By 1901 the great hopes for a National Catholic church had not been realized. The American victory had wiped out all hopes for an independent Filipino nation with the National church as its correlate. Many Americans had heard only the Spanish side of the religious question and were not sympathetic with the Aglipayan movement. The Vatican had put strong pressure upon the United States to protect Roman Catholic interests in the islands, and the Filipinos were greatly worried over resultant American attempts to protect the friar lands and to obtain release of the imprisoned friars.[23]

Aglipay was still seeking to have all the Filipino clergy united behind him, but this was increasingly difficult. The American vic-

tory, combined with Rome's stern refusal to listen to the pleas for a Filipino-led church, caused many of the Filipino priests to back away from Aglipay and to obey whatever Rome demanded. Thus the ranks of the national clergy became badly split. In addition, among Aglipay and his followers there continued to be varying ideas as to how far the National church should go. At this late date, Aglipay and others favored remaining faithful to Rome as long as possible. Aglipay still thought that his excommunication might be rescinded, and he remained in contact with Jesuit friends.[24] De los Reyes and others, however, saw no chance of Rome's changing and desired immediate severance of ties with the Holy See and a definite launching out on an independent course.[25] All in all, until 1902 the Aglipayans, threatened without and divided within, remained uncertain as to their future course of action.

The Establishment of the Philippine Independent Church

The collapse of hopes for a National Catholic church did not lessen the intense identification of nationalistic and religious interests. The injustices perpetrated by a foreign-led church were still evident, and the Aglipayans remained determined to be faithful to their own inner integrity and to have a Filipino-led church in their own land.

Final Break with the Roman Catholic Church

Aglipay had placed his final hope upon Governor-General William Howard Taft, who went to Rome to negotiate for the sale of the friar lands and the removal of the friars from the islands. In late July, 1902, however, Taft cabled that although the friar lands were to be purchased by the United States, the friars were to remain in the Philippines.[26]

With this news, de los Reyes called a meeting of the labor movement he had organized for August 3, 1902, at which time he publicly announced the setting up of a Filipino church with Gregorio Aglipay as its supreme head. This announcement was made without Aglipay's prior knowledge, and his immediate response was to decline the position proclaimed for him.[27]

It was at this time that Aglipay was invited to a house of the Jesuits in Santa Ana, and he decided to accept in order to think through the whole situation. While there, he was under great pressure from the Jesuits to submit to the authority of Rome and sign a retraction. Aglipay asked if such a retraction would mean the granting of the legitimate demands of the Filipino clergy. He was told that it would not. Strong words followed between the two parties, after which Aglipay left the house and ended his association with the Jesuits once and for all.[28]

Aglipay then decided to break with Rome. There seemed no other honorable course for a Filipino to take. He thus accepted the proclamation of de los Reyes, and on October 26, 1902, in the Tondo district of Manila he celebrated his first mass as head of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente.[29] In that same month, over twenty priests in Ilocos Norte consecrated Pedro Brillantes as the first bishop of the new church, although it should be noted that he had been acting ecclesiastical governor of the area since 1898.[30]

In November a new Apostolic Delegate arrived in Manila. His attitude was the same as that of his predecessor: no Filipinos were to be named to the episcopacy at that time, and no attempts were made at reconciliation.[31] Thus the final break was made when in January, 1903, Aglipay was consecrated as *Obispo Maximo* at the Tondo Fiesta by the bishops-elect of the new church.[32]

The new church was different from the earlier National church in that now no ties remained with Rome, although the same nationalistic feelings had surged through the founders of both.[33] As to who was the actual founder of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, Bishop Whittemore states that in reality it was neither de los Reyes nor Aglipay. Rather,

> this Church grew out of the heart of the Filipino desire for liberty, for the opportunity to express its own self-consciousness. For centuries this self-consciousness, this manhood, had been steadily and deliberately repressed, both politically and religiously.[34]

A Church of the Laborers and the Poor

La Iglesia Filipina Independiente was unmistakably a mass

movement that particularly represented the laborers and the poor. Those who had most felt the oppression of the friar-dominated Catholic church—the farmers, the laborers, the "unimportant" people—felt as one with the cause of the Filipino clergy.

From its beginning, the Independent church has been identified with laborers. De los Reyes was a labor leader, and the church was first proclaimed at a labor rally. In the great mass movement into the new church in 1903, eight labor unions with their entire memberships affiliated with the Aglipayans.[35]

Few of the rich came into the Independent church.[36] They had risen to their positions of wealth under the old regime and naturally favored the old order of things. One recalls the situation in England during the Evangelical Revival in the eighteenth century. The response of the wealthy at that time to the Methodist societies begun by John Wesley was similar to that of the upper-class Filipinos to the Aglipayan movement—generally one of disfavor. Indeed, one of Aglipay's most crushing problems in the years ahead was to be the debilitating effect of the poverty of his church.

Areas of Most Rapid Growth

The remarkable early growth of the Independent church was similar to the rapid spread of Protestantism in sixteenth-century Europe. Reports of the actual size of the schism vary widely. Aglipay and de los Reyes made the largest estimate, saying there were as many as three to five million Independientes by 1903 out of a total population of seven million.[37] Other authorities, however, such as Stuntz, Achútegui, Forbes, and Robertson, made an estimate of one and one-half to two million, or about one-fourth of the population. This more conservative estimate, coming from a wider variety of authorities than the Aglipayan leaders and harmonizing with the official census reports, can be accepted as accurate.[38] Even this conservative estimate indicates that the Iglesia Filipina Independiente became in a brief time a sizable body of Filipinos.

Great prestige came to the Independent church when General Aguinaldo accepted an honorary position on the executive committee of the church. Governor Taft was also friendly to the Agli-

payans and lent them much encouragement. The Church of Rome appointed American rather than Filipino bishops to replace most of the Spanish prelates, which further enhanced the attraction of the Filipino-led Independent church.[39]

The Aglipayan movement grew most rapidly in those areas where the friars had been the strongest and where their land holdings were the greatest. For example, on the island of Leyte, which had never had any friars and where all of the churches were under Filipino priests, all the priests remained loyal to Rome. Even until the present day, neither the Independent church nor Protestant churches have been able to gain a significant foothold there. On the other hand, all sixty priests on the island of Panay left the Roman church,[40] and almost the whole province of Ilocos Norte—Aglipay's home—became Independent, as did large numbers in Ilocos Sur, Abra, the Visayas, and northern Mindanao.[41]

Here again, in the growth of the Aglipayan movement, is seen the identification of nationalistic feelings with the desire for religious liberty. Those areas which had felt most harshly the heel of religious oppression frequently went most strongly into the new movement, leaving their Roman Catholic heritage for that which was *Filipino* in its leadership and in its sympathies, a movement that had raised on high the banner of freedom from foreign oppression.

Nationalism as the Driving Force of the Philippine Independent Church

The theological development of the Philippine Independent church is significant because it reveals the extent to which nationalism increasingly became the driving force behind the Aglipayan movement. The inadequacy of nationalism as a "theology" was to become apparent in the years that followed, although it was not until after World War II that "religious Philippinism" was to be officially abandoned.

Departure from Early Catholicism

It has been observed how reluctant Aglipay and his followers were to break with the Church of Rome. Even after the break in

1902, Aglipay in his official statements took great care to demonstrate his Catholic orthodoxy. He did depart from Rome in rejecting the authority of the Pope and in seeking to minimize the excessive emphasis upon the saints. Aglipay also found it necessary to reject apostolic succession because of the odious foreign oppression that had come to be associated with it. Finally, he rejected all religious exploitation and exalted the importance of religious liberty in the Christian life.[42]

Once the break was made, however, Aglipay—like Luther and other reformers—found that his dedication to religious liberty brought the whole range of Roman dogma under scrutiny. Aglipay's openness and independent spirit led him farther and farther away from the Church of Rome in the years that followed. Through this period of change, three influences—in addition to his fervent nationalism—were prominent: the theology of de los Reyes, Protestantism, and Unitarianism.

THE THEOLOGY OF DE LOS REYES

Isabelo de los Reyes remained a close companion of Gregorio Aglipay and had great influence upon the Independent church. De los Reyes, though a layman, read widely in theology and was deeply interested in religion. Like José Rizal, he studied closely the religion of pre-Spanish times in the islands, and he came to believe that the ancient Filipino religion was highly developed and was a significant revelation of God. Thus he wrote:

> If God appeared to the Hebrews under the name of Jehovah, to the Jews with the name of Jesus, to the Hindus with the name of Brahma and to the Mohammedans with the name of Allah . . . , why could he not have appeared too with the name of Bathala to the Filipinos, if one and the other are His sons?[43]

De los Reyes took the ancient belief in the nature deity Bathala and combined it with scientific thought as he tried to develop a Philippine theology that was compatible with the modern world. Thus in 1906 he wrote an *Oficio Divino* which was accepted by the Supreme Council of Prelates as the faith of the Independent church.[44] This *Oficio* continued to use Christian terminology, be-

cause the Aglipayan followers were accustomed to it, but it was clearly a departure from Catholic orthodoxy. While the belief in the Incarnation was retained, Jesus was interpreted in a docetic manner with his humanity only seeming to be real. Original sin, the traditional interpretation of the Trinity, and the sacrificial atonement were denied, and salvation was said to come from God's teaching given in Jesus. The Gospels were harmonized in a way that rid them of all contradictions, and most of the miracles were omitted.[45] The prayers of the *Oficio* gave evidence of a deeply sensitive spirit, and, as a whole, the *Oficio* showed a keen ethical sensitivity.

THE INFLUENCE OF PROTESTANTISM

Although the 1901 meeting between Aglipay and de los Reyes and the Protestants did not end in their joining forces, Protestant influences upon the Independent church were marked in the years that followed. Protestantism grew and became increasingly important during the American colonial period. Independent spirits that the Aglipayans were, they found themselves attracted to certain Protestant emphases, often out of their own experiences rather than through contact with American Protestants. This was seen, for example, when Aglipay departed from the line of apostolic succession and was consecrated as bishop by a group of presbyters.[46]

In 1901, the Protestants had asked Aglipay to permit priests to marry and to abandon what they judged to be Mariolatry, as well as to place greater emphasis upon the Bible.[47] All of these positions the Aglipayans eventually came to accept. The American Bible Society was able to work closely with the new movement. Its representative, Arthur Prautch, became a colporteur to the Aglipayans and often accompanied the Independent bishops on their episcopal visits. Aglipay gave new members a copy of the Scriptures instead of the traditional candle. Thousands of Scriptures were sold to the priests and members.[48]

Other Protestant emphases were evidenced in various ways. The laity had an important place in the life of the church's government. The vernacular was used in public worship. The indi-

vidual's personal relationship to God was stressed. The public schools were supported, and modern science was welcomed.[49]

Despite these emphases, it should be noted that the Aglipayans and the Protestants did not come close together. According to Frank Laubach, the Protestants held aloof from the Aglipayans for four reasons: The Aglipayans were "too Roman" in ritual; "too rationalistic" in theology; "too Spanish" in ethics; and "too *independentista*" in politics.[50] It remains, however, as one of the great tragedies of Philippine church history that some rapprochement was not reached between these two movements.

THE INFLUENCE OF UNITARIANISM

While the Protestant and Catholic churches failed to offer the Independent church much encouragement, great interest and friendship were forthcoming from the Unitarians. This association first began through the Unitarian William Howard Taft, who was greatly interested in the movement and who was a close friend of Aglipay. Taft, who was made honorary president of the Independent church in 1903, introduced Aglipay to much Unitarian literature and was instrumental in providing the *Obispo Maximo* with many contacts with Unitarian leaders. The Unitarians sponsored trips for Aglipay to America and Europe and gave him great encouragement.[51]

Aglipay was deeply affected by his contacts with Unitarianism, and his church officially moved to a radical theological position. Aglipay's writing showed a marked increase of emphasis upon truth as revealed in science and in nature. The Incarnation was no longer held to, and "the Mass became just a brotherly meal."[52] Although the church retained its episcopacy and the mass and vestments of former days, Aglipay was seeking to give these vestiges of the past a new meaning that expressed his Unitarianism.[53]

It is important to note, however, that Aglipay's theology brought a widening gulf between him and the rank and file of the church. De los Reyes and a few others went along with their *Obispo Maximo,* but the large majority did not. The masses remained traditional in theology despite their independence from Rome, and the theology of Aglipay failed to pervade very ex-

tensively the life and thought of the Philippine Independent church.[54]

"Religious Philippinism" as a Theology

Despite the various theological emphases in the Iglesia Filipina Independiente—Bathalism, Protestantism, and Unitarianism—one emphasis remained throughout as the cohesive force joining all Aglipayans together: nationalism. As the scholar William Henry Scott, a contemporary Episcopal missionary in the Philippines has pointed out, "Only recourse to the political vitality of nationalism explains how . . . Catholic laymen and priests continued to rally behind an apparent Unitarian."[55] The Aglipayan Reformation was not characterized by the strong theological concerns that were evidenced in the Lutheran Reformation in sixteenth-century Germany. Theological reform came only secondarily in the Philippines, and even then, very little of it permeated the masses. The theology of de los Reyes and Aglipay, radical though it was, failed to excite or interest the vast majority of *Independientes*. Even the change in the mass from Latin to the vernacular made little impression on the laity. As William H. Scott has commented:

> The average worshipper . . . generally occupied himself with telling his beads or private devotions while the mass was mumbled in a sanctuary or, at best, celebrated as a dialogue between priest and choir. It is possible today to speak with Aglipayan laymen who do not know what language is spoken at the altar of their own parish church.[56]

Filipino reaction against oppressive Spanish missionaries and the desire for a *Filipino* church for the Philippines gave rise to the Aglipayan movement. As Achútegui and Bernad have observed:

> The Aglipayan movement initially was not a revolt against the Catholic Church as such but against a socio-political order of things in which the Catholic Church, as an external organization, was involved. The chief target was the nationality of the existing hierarchy. In other words, whatever may have been the intentions of the leaders of the movement, the . . . Filipinos who were swept into it . . . did not join it primarily because they wanted to do away with the Mass or the sacramental system of the Church, or its liturgical practices and devotions, or its doctrine on purgatory or any other doctrines. They joined the movement because the Agli-

payan Church appealed to their nationalistic sentiment: It was represented to them as a *Filipino* Church, with Filipino bishops and priests independent of foreign domination. . . .[57]

The centrality of nationalism as the motivating force behind the Independent church showed itself increasingly in the official statements of Aglipayan leaders. De los Reyes' attempted revival of the ancient Filipino worship of Bathala grew out of his nationalism and the belief that God had revealed himself to the Filipinos in a special way. Thus the following was found in an early catechism of the church:

Q. What is the characteristic of the Iglesia Filipina?
A. It is the unique church in the world, formally established with more than twenty bishops and hundreds of presbyters and, placing modern science above the Bible, is herself worthy of the twentieth century from which she sprang. . . . She has made her general Filipino gospel in accordance with the spirit and progress of our epoch.[58]

Eventually Bishop Aglipay began to use the term "religious Philippinism" to describe his nationalistic theology.[59] This was a gospel of, by, and for the Filipinos, hammered out of their own experiences and expressive of their own unique characteristics. When interviewed in 1927, Aglipay outlined three main characteristics of his movement. It was, first, based on the teachings of the great Filipino nationalists such as Rizal and Mabini, who had shown the Filipinos the way out of their oppression. Secondly, it was a movement that gave expression to the Filipinos' desire for independence. Finally, "religious Philippinism" stood against the foreign-dominated Roman church, which had opposed Philippine independence and which propagated superstitions and dogmas that could not stand the test of modern "religious science."[60]

This religious nationalism particularly placed the heroes of the Philippine Revolution in exalted positions of honor and even veneration. In 1904 Aglipay signed a decree of canonization which declared four Filipino patriots—Rizal, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora—to be saints.[61] In 1922 Aglipay said, "Rizal, to us Filipinos, is more than a saint. He is the true Filipino messiah, whose coming

we had longed to see during our colonial days."[62] Such then was the increasingly *Filipino* gospel in the Aglipayan movement.

Among the masses there remained a strong folk Catholicism little changed from Spanish days, while among some of the leaders there was an evolving Unitarianism. Yet the radical differences between the two groups found a meeting ground in the nationalism of both. This was the driving force that kept the movement together and provided it with its vitality for almost half a century. This nationalism made of the Independent church

> what its name states, 'independent' in theology, ritual and church government—a unique institution among the Christian churches of the world. Not Catholic, not Protestant, not Unitarian. All other Christian denominations would agree on one point—it was unorthodox.[63]

Decline of the Philippine Independent Church

The early success of the Philippine Independent church did not last long. The initial surge of growth was followed by a long period of decline which was not halted until after World War II. There were three principal reasons for this decline: the loss of church properties by court decision; the absorption of the leaders in politics; and the neglect of the church's pastoral and evangelistic functions.

Loss of Church Properties

When the Philippine Independent church began, many whole communities became *Independiente*. The absence of the friars, who had fled during the Revolution, aided this process. In the areas where the people in large numbers became Aglipayan, they took possession of the local churches, cemeteries, and parish houses. They maintained that these properties belonged to the communities they served—just like any other public properties—and that the Church of Rome no longer had any rightful claim to them. The great stone churches and parish houses had been built by the Filipinos under the direction of the friars. The labor had been neither voluntary nor paid. Every man in each community had been required in Spanish times to give thirty days' work without pay,

and the women had also been required annually to give their labors freely to the church. The Filipinos, therefore, felt it only just that these properties be turned over to them. In addition, Aglipay pointed out that in 1493 Pope Alexander VI had given the Spanish Crown dominion over ecclesiastical properties in the Spanish colonies. Since the islands were now under American sovereignty, Aglipay held that such properties now belonged to the United States, whose duty it was to turn them over to the people who used them.[64]

The Roman church, however, demanded restoration of all such properties, and a great dispute arose. As a result, Governor Taft issued a temporary order of "Peaceful Possession" which held that, until the courts decided, the disputed properties should belong to whoever at present possessed them.[65]

Taft's ruling held until November 24, 1906, when the Philippine Supreme Court, in the Barlin-Ramirez Case, said the Roman church was the rightful owner of all the properties. The Court held that Spain had not been the actual owner of the properties but instead was their "patron." The title was held to be clearly with the Church of Rome, a fact which the Treaty of Paris had recognized in 1898.[66]

This ruling was a crushing blow to the Independent church. Overnight the Aglipayan movement was without churches, parish houses, or cemeteries. Being a movement, by and large, of the poor, the Iglesia Independiente could not hope to replace what had been lost. Simple bamboo chapels replaced the stone churches, and the pride of the Aglipayans in being *the* Filipino Catholic church was shattered. The Filipinos, who had been so impressed by the pageantry of the mass in the great stone churches, began to fall away from Aglipay in large numbers. Thousands upon thousands went back to the Roman church; others became Protestants; and still others dropped away from Christianity completely.[67] Thus, whereas in 1906 the Philippine Independent church represented at the very least 25 per cent of the population, by 1948 it represented only 7.6 per cent of the nation.[68] In 1965, out of a total population of approximately 34 million, the Philippine Independent church had a constituency of an estimated 1,600,000.[69]

Absorption of the Leaders in Politics

The loss of church properties was not the only reason for the Aglipayan decline. Another was the absorption of the movement's leaders in politics.

Under the American regime, the Filipinos were given the opportunity to advance toward self-government. They were allowed to establish political parties. The Federalist party represented the pro-Catholic interests, and it soon became dominant in national affairs. In 1904, in order to rally the liberal forces, Aglipay and de los Reyes founded the Republican party.[70] De los Reyes was elected its first president, and he was succeeded by Bishop Aglipay. The Independent church became greatly absorbed in political affairs. In the first Philippine Assembly a number of Republicans were elected, including the future *Obispo Maximo,* Santiago Fonacier.[71] In the years that followed, many *Independientes*—laymen, priests, and bishops—were elected as mayors, governors, senators, and representatives.

The Republican party had a vigorous political platform centering around the speedy independence of the Philippines. The party also worked for enlarging the rights of the Filipino people. It opposed the ownership of lands and mines by foreigners, as well as the immigration of other Asians into the archipelago. The Republicans favored social welfare, public works, and protective legislation for the laborers. The party also continued to ask for a reversal of the 1906 Supreme Court decision that had given to the Church of Rome all the disputed properties.[72]

The first national election for the presidency of the Philippine Commonwealth was held in 1935. Manuel Quezon was expected to win easily, for he had worked long and effectively for independence, he was popular, and he represented the powerful political and financial interests in the nation. Nonetheless, Aglipay also announced his candidacy because he favored a more speedy realization of political independence than did Quezon, and because he believed that he represented the poor and laboring classes, while Quezon did not. Although he lost, it is significant that, despite his age (seventy-five) and his lack of Quezon's financial backing and political machinery, Aglipay captured 14 per cent of the vote.[73]

Aglipay, de los Reyes, and their followers made a genuine contribution to their country by keeping such issues as political independence, the plight of the laboring classes, and the need for social welfare before the national consciousness. But the price they paid was almost fatal to the Philippine Independent church. Their interest in political matters led to neglect of church life to the extent that the strength and vitality of the Independent church were greatly weakened, and the potential significance of the Aglipayan movement was not realized.

Neglect of the Church's Pastoral and Evangelistic Functions

If nationalism was the Aglipayans' greatest strength, it was also their greatest weakness. Many came into the movement because of their hatred for the friars and their love for their country, but with little concomitant concern for the *totality* of the Christian faith.[74]

The involvement of many of the clergy in politics left little time for parish life. Their efforts in the time that was left were crippled by the great poverty of the members. The *Independientes* were unable to found any schools, hospitals, or other institutions. They were never able to build the churches they needed. Whereas in 1925 the Roman churches had one seat for every 2.6 members and the Protestant churches had more seats than members, the Aglipayan churches had an average of only one seat for every 8 members.[75] Like the Roman church, the Independent church had a dire shortage of priests. New priests received only a little training, usually in the bishops' churches. No national program was developed, no sustaining attention given to youth and women's groups. There was no record of church membership, and it was not until Aglipay died in 1940 that there was a national meeting of clergy and laity for the purpose of planning the business of the church.[76]

The church was also extremely weak in its evangelism. As a result, it failed to grow beyond the one and one-half to two million members it had before 1910. In the 1960 census, fewer than two million Aglipayans were recorded.[77] That this number has failed to vary much for half a century actually indicates a great

proportional loss, for the country itself has grown from well under ten million in 1910 to well over twenty-five million by 1960. For many years the Aglipayan church reached out but little to others, and its own members drifted away gradually. It did not attempt missionary work among its Asian neighbors, or even among nearby Filipino pagan tribes.[78] It was a movement whose great nationalistic interests crowded out such important tasks.

Renewal and Advance of the Philippine Independent Church

Despite the tragic decline of the Independent church, vitality remained within it as many held on to the early vision of an Independent Catholic church. Protestant influence led to some important reforms, such as lay representation in church affairs and an emphasis on the Bible. Unitarian contacts helped develop an openness and concern for universality that tempered the ever present nationalism and that helped bring traditional dogmas under the critical searchlight of reason. This underlying vitality has become newly evident in the years since the ending of World War II.

The Leadership of Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr.

In 1946 Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., son of the remarkable founder of the Independent church and long an intimate friend of Aglipay, was elected supreme bishop of the church. De los Reyes, Jr. is a man of broad experience, deep faith, and great leadership ability. He accompanied Bishop Aglipay on his trip to America under the sponsorship of the Unitarians and also traveled widely while in the United States Navy.[79]

When he became *Obispo Maximo,* de los Reyes, along with other young leaders in the church, was convinced of the inadequacy of "religious Philippinism." Thus he wrote,

> The leaders of my Church have come to realize that nationalism is not enough for the salvation of souls. We know that our Church was a daughter of revolution and came to life in an explosion of religious nationalism, but we have outgrown that narrow brand of nationalism. . . . Today we are aware that the Filipinos are the most "Occidental of Orientals," and

must foster nationalism among our people, but it shall be the healthy kind, not the exclusivistic, chauvinistic nationalism, nor the intolerant and arrogant brand of Christianity we inherited from the Spanish missionaries.[80]

Monsignor de los Reyes has fostered ecumenical contacts and worked for reform in many ways. He has worked closely with the Philippine Bible Society and various Protestant communions, especially the Philippine Episcopal church. De los Reyes is widely respected today as one of the great leaders in Philippine Christianity.

Developing Relationship with the Episcopal Church

Monsignor de los Reyes came increasingly to believe that the Philippine Independent church and the Episcopal church had a common mission and message. Their origins showed close parallels, and the theology and worship of the Anglican communion seemed most expressive of the mind of the younger Independent church leaders, as well as of the faith of the laity. De los Reyes has stated that, despite the radical theology of his father and Aglipay, he had personally always considered himself an orthodox Catholic Christian, having rejected only the accretions and superstitions of Roman Catholicism. Furthermore, he believed that this position was representative of most Aglipayans.[81]

In 1947 the Philippine Independent church issued "an orthodox Declaration of Faith and Articles of Religion, unanimously approved by the Supreme Council of Bishops and the General Assembly."[82] As a result, negotiations were entered into with the Episcopal church that have led to an ever closer relationship. On April 7, 1948, three Philippine Independent bishops were given episcopal orders at St. Luke's Pro-Cathedral in Manila by three Episcopal bishops. The former in turn consecrated the rest of the Independent bishops, and the orders of all priests and deacons were regularized. Thus, according to Catholic tradition, the entire Independent clergy was brought into the line of apostolic succession.[83]

From this event, the relationship between the two communions broadened and deepened. St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, established by the Episcopal church, became the training ground for

candidates for the priesthood in both churches. Close co-operation was entered into in various areas, leading in 1961 to a Concordat of full communion between the two churches. A Joint Council was also set up to work through the implications of the Concordat.[84]

Development of Church Life

While the Independent church still manifests an interest in the political conditions in the country, it has more and more shown during the postwar years a concern for the totality of the gospel. Strong leadership, the relationship with the Episcopal church, and wider ecumenical contacts have all contributed to this renewal and advance of the Philippine Independent church.

The solid theological and pastoral training now being given at St. Andrew's is gradually working its way into the life of the local church. In place after place, young priests have revitalized churches by instructing the faithful, reaching the unchurched, and ministering to the spiritual needs of the community. In many places this has led to building programs in which dilapidated structures have been replaced by fine cement churches. Increasingly the Philippine Independent church is being looked upon as a local force of growing spiritual vitality. In 1960 the Philippine Independent church had approximately 430 priests and 40 bishops.[85]

This renewed life is also being manifested in missionary outreach. Missions are being established among the tribal peoples of Zambales, Isabela, Mindoro, and Palawan, and among the Moros of Mindanao. Work was also begun in the Filipino communities in Honolulu and Hilo, Hawaii in 1959.[86]

There has been an awakening among the laity. Laymen's committees have been strengthened, and there is now a national laymen's organization. There is also a Women's Auxiliary on both the local and national levels, and youth groups are growing in numbers.[87] The worship of the church is being enriched and aided by a new prayer book that was formulated over a number of years with the aid of American liturgical scholars.[88] Trinity College has recently been established in the national capital, and a national cathedral is being built in Manila.

This renewal is only in its beginning stages, and much yet re-

mains to be done. There is still a critical shortage of priests; finances are as yet woefully inadequate; there is a serious need for schools under Independent auspices; and the church has suffered from several schisms from its own ranks.[89] Yet there is great encouragement from the start that has been made, and the future seems bright for the Independent church and its role in the life of the Philippines.

Development of Ecumenical Relationships

In addition to the relationship with the Episcopal church, the Independent church has also reached out into wider ecumenical contacts. On college campuses it works with other church bodies through the united Student Christian Movement. While the Independent church was not a member of the former Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, it was instrumental in reshaping the Federation into a more inclusive National Council of Churches, organized in late 1963, with Bishop de los Reyes elected as its first chairman. The Independent church is actively engaged in the East Asia Christian Conference and the World Council of Churches. The membership of the Philippine Independent church in the new National Council of Churches has for the first time brought the Aglipayan movement into a position of central influence in the ecumenical movement in the Philippines. It is noteworthy that the Independent church is the largest church by far in the National Council, as well as the one with the strongest nationalist heritage. The effect of this upon the ecumenical movement in the islands will bear close observation in the future.

From Nationalism Into The Mainstream

We see, therefore, that the present-day Philippine Independent church has come into the mainstream of world Christianity. Its history, however, provides an excellent example of how nationalism can deeply influence and shape the understanding and practice of the Christian faith. In terms of our five norms, the significance of this history might be summed up as follows:

1. During its earlier years, the Philippine Independent church proclaimed a faith narrowly bound by, and inseparable from,

Philippine nationalism, with inadequate reference to the universal dimension of the Christian faith. Today, however, the emphasis of the Independent church on nationalism is within the wider context of the Christian faith as a gospel for all the nations.

2. The Philippine Independent church, growing out of Philippine nationalism, sought from its inception to be expressive of the national culture. Early attempts at formulating a uniquely Filipino theology were not long lasting, although nationalism still makes an imprint upon the theological outlook of the church. The church has been completely indigenous in its self-leadership, self-support, and self-propagation. It has, however, been particularly weak in self-support and self-propagation, and until recent years its leadership was heavily involved in political affairs. This weakness has prevented the Independent church from adequately penetrating and transforming the culture.

3. With the exception of recent years, the Philippine Independent church has, to a large extent, been a captive of Philippine nationalism. The fact that nationalism was the driving force which held the church together and provided the motivation for many of the activities of its leaders resulted in a narrowing of the church's outlook and a serious neglect of its pastoral and evangelistic functions.

4. Until recently, the Philippine Independent church has not been an integral part of the world Christian community. Except for some contacts with American Unitarianism, its outlook and program were largely focused around Philippine nationalism. Because of its emphasis on "religious Philippinism," resources and personnel were not sent to or received from other countries. Today, however, the Philippine Independent church is a significant part of the ecumenical movement.

5. The Philippine Independent church has been very much involved in the task of nation-building. It worked tirelessly for national independence and sharply opposed foreign domination in the religious and political affairs of the country. A spokesman throughout its history for the laborers and the poor, the Independent church has been an ardent advocate of human freedom and social justice for all Filipinos.

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THE PHILIPPINES

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THE PHILIPPINES

THE RISE of the Aglipayan movement was not the only change in Philippine Christianity that took place in the closing decade of the nineteenth century. An additional development was that American missionaries introduced Evangelical Christianity to the Filipinos, thus opening another chapter in the history of Philippine Christianity.

THE SETTING IN WHICH PROTESTANTISM CAME TO THE PHILIPPINES

The Opportunity Provided by American Colonialism

When the Treaty of Paris brought the Philippines into the possession of the United States, America's first venture as a colonial power in Asia was initiated. As a contemporary Filipino historian suggests,[1] America's motives for embarking upon this colonial experiment were a mixture of altruism, imperialism, commercial gain, and adventure.[2] Her own experience as a former colony, however, caused the United States to seek to develop an enlightened and humane colonial policy that would lead eventually to self-government. Despite many shortcomings in the actual development of this policy, by the time independence was granted in 1946 a number of significant reforms had been carried out; a strong public school system was well established, an atmosphere of religious and civil liberty prevailed, and numerous other advancements were achieved.

While in America religious interests were not linked to the government as they were in Spain, the new colonial era did provide an opportunity for large numbers of missionaries to enter the islands. American policy was to establish in the archipelago religious liberty similar to that which prevailed in the United States. This meant that the doors were open as never before to diverse missionary endeavor in the islands.[3] Catholic missionaries from America and Europe began replacing the unwanted Spanish friars, and Protestant missionaries started new work throughout the islands.

These radical developments naturally began to have a far-reaching effect upon the Filipino nation. As we have seen, the earlier heroic struggles for liberalization in the islands had always come up against the overwhelming resistance of Spanish ecclesiastical and governmental repression. Time and again the Filipinos' efforts for freedom had come to naught. But now, what had heretofore been branded by the Spaniards as subversion was proclaimed by the Americans as belonging to the very essence of society! While complete national freedom was still to be denied for almost another half-century, the new colonial climate left much room for significant freedom of expression.

Conditions were thus favorable for the beginnings of Protestantism. The revulsion of the populace against the friars and Spain was especially strong. Despite the American-Filipino War and other serious American errors in the islands, the colonial policies of the United States won great favor among the Filipinos. As a result, many Filipinos became interested in the Protestant faith of their rulers. They not only learned about this faith from the preaching and service of the missionaries, but saw it reflected in the lives of many other Americans in the islands, such as the hundreds of public school teachers, many of whom were Protestants. The sympathy of many of the missionaries for the Philippine Revolution was also significant to the people. Thus, in a variety of ways, the climate for Protestantism was favorable, and Evangelical Christianity spread throughout the country.

The rapid rate of this expansion of Protestantism appears especially significant when it is compared with the situation in Latin

America. The Philippines and Latin America have a similar heritage of Iberian Catholicism; yet prior to World War II Protestantism grew much faster in the Philippines than in Latin America, and this growth was accomplished with a proportionally smaller number of missionaries. Certainly many factors are involved in these different rates of growth, factors some of which lie beyond the scope of this volume. Possibly the chief factor in the rapid growth in the Philippines, however, was the presence of a vigorously *Protestant* colonial power. Independence from Spain came to most of Latin America much earlier than to the Philippines. The Latin American nations were then ruled by their own countrymen, in whose background was a strong heritage of Spanish or Portuguese Catholicism. In the Philippines, on the other hand, independence from Spain was followed by colonial direction from Protestant America; then, in time, self-rule came and Filipinos trained under the dominant influence of the United States took over the reins of leadership. Protestant missionaries in the islands were thus able to carry out their work in a milieu that included such assets as full religious liberty and impartial protection under the law.

The Need for Protestant Missions

At the turn of the century, Protestant missionary endeavor was at its height. When the great needs of the Filipinos became known in America, the churches quickly responded.

THE CONTINUING REFORMATION

Unreformed Hispanic Catholicism, corrupted by great power and wealth, had, for the most part, lost its creative and purposeful function in Philippine society. Rigid dogma and widespread superstition obscured the practical meaning of the Christian faith for the people. Religious freedom was denied, and the Bible was a closed book.

When the Protestants came to the islands, they saw their task as a continuance of the Reformation. They desired to show the relevance of Christianity to daily life, and this they did through a ministry of preaching, teaching, and serving. From the outset,

they emphasized that this varied ministry should become indigenous as soon as possible.

THE BUILDING OF A FILIPINO CHURCH

Not only were spiritual and moral renewal needed in the Philippines, but also the opportunity for the Filipinos themselves to guide their religious destinies. It was neither necessary nor just that they should always be under foreign ecclesiastical domination.

While the various Protestant missions coming to the islands did not all have identical policies, they did show a remarkable unity from the outset of their labors. Their overall objective was well expressed in 1903 by one of the missionary leaders of the day, Arthur Judson Brown, who said:

> We are in Asia to preach Christ and to found His Church on a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating basis. But within reasonable and necessary limits, we should give the Asiatic churches freedom to develop their own forms and to adapt themselves to their peculiar environment.[4]

The first regularly appointed missionary to the Philippines, James B. Rodgers of the Presbyterian church, said, when he arrived in 1899, that the native church should develop rapidly with the missionary not as a dictator but as a helper and adviser. Speaking of the missionaries' role, he said: "They should work as evangelists, not as pastors, opening new fields, raising up new churches, advising people and caring largely for the educational work, especially the theological training of the ministry."[5]

This ideal of a self-directing, self-supporting, and self-propagating church, with assistance being given where needed by missionaries and the overseas churches, has remained through this century as the goal of Evangelical missionary endeavor in the islands. Filipino Evangelicals themselves have expressed this goal in these words:

> All thinking men and women connected with the Evangelical movement in the Philippines are agreed that THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE is the establishment of a truly indigenous Evangelical Christian Church

which shall embody the best in the Evangelical churches in other countries. The movement must reflect those phases which have a certain degree of universality demonstrative of the essential unity of Evangelical Christianity throughout the world. At the same time, it must reconcile with those national tendencies, views, and hopes of the people whom the movement seeks to serve and save.[6]

This respect for the Philippine culture and desire to build a Filipino-led church was very similar to the nationalistic goal of religious self-determination which we have noted earlier. As a result, from the beginning of Protestant missionary endeavor in the islands, the relationship that developed between Protestantism and Philippine nationalism was generally harmonious.

The Evangelical Union

The opening of Protestant work in the Philippines was preceded by careful preparations for a united approach in the islands,[7] which resulted in the formation of the Evangelical Union in the Philippines in 1901. Such a Union was a remarkable achievement, for it was

the first time in the history of the world so far as we know, [that] before occupying a new field, the representatives of the various boards sat down cordially to plan the situation together, to pray over it and to decide how men and money could be used to the very best advantage and to the avoidance of many of the evils of denominational lines.[8]

The Comity Agreement

The mission boards sought to avoid in the Philippines the duplication of denominational work that had taken place in other countries. Thus one of the main efforts of the Evangelical Union was to divide the country into territorial areas in which each denomination would work. The Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, United Brethren, Congregational, Disciples, and Christian Missionary Alliance missions were each allotted specific regions.[9] This meant that only one Evangelical church would be started in each area and that possibly much of the old denominational pattern would be avoided.

Co-operation was entered into among the member missions in many other areas. Moral pronouncements, literature production, evangelistic campaigns, and joint educational projects were some of the fields in which united Protestant action was carried out.[10]

An Indigenous United Church as the Ultimate Objective

From the outset, the Evangelical Union had as its ultimate objective a National Evangelical church. The first constitution provided that all member churches should use the name "Iglesia Evangelica" and that the use of denominational names should be added only in parentheses.[11]

The Evangelical Union, as first constituted, was an organization *of* the missionaries *for* the Filipino church. In 1920, with the missions firmly established and Filipino leadership coming into its own, the Evangelical Union was enlarged to include in its membership one layman and one pastor from each local church.[12] This meant that Filipinos were now in the majority and that the missionaries would increasingly take a back seat in the leadership of the churches. In 1923 the Union elected Dean Jorge Bocobo of the University of the Philippines as its first Filipino president. This "Filipinizing" of the Evangelical Union meant "that the modern theory of missionary science had become actual practice in the Philippines. In the early days, the missionaries had been planning and working for the Filipinos, like spiritual fathers; [now] . . . Americans work *with* Filipinos as brothers."[13]

In 1924 the Union passed the following resolution:

> That a self-extending, self-governing, self-supporting indigenous Filipino Church be held before us as our great objective, involving the thorough training of a Filipino ministry and the development of a strong, eager and efficient body of laymen.[14]

This resolution and the actual accomplishments of the Evangelical Union, as well as those of the individual missions, contrasts sharply with the practice of the Roman church in the Philippines with its continued preponderance of foreign domination. At the same time, the process of indigenization of the Evangelical movement did not mean that nationalism was to become dominant as in the

Philippine Independent church. The ecumenical and international character of Philippine Protestantism prevented that from happening. Thus, at the same Convention of 1924 which made an indigenous Filipino church its great objective, a warning against excessive nationalism was also issued, in a resolution which stated:

> Christianity is universal in its appeal and application and vastly larger than any conceivable nationality. . . . What is needed in every nation is the Christianizing of nationality, rather than the nationalizing of Christianity.[15]

The United Evangelical Church

The Evangelical Union, by pronouncements and co-operative programs, was gradually laying the foundation for a united, indigenous church. Indispensable to this foundation was the work of the individual missions in producing indigenous leadership and in training for self-support, which firmly established the church in the various geographical areas. These efforts came to partial fruition with the founding of the United Evangelical church in 1929.

Impetus from the Philippine Youth Movement

The Philippine Youth Movement was founded in 1926.[16] It grew out of the desire of the various denominational youth fellowships to have a national organization for all Evangelical youth in the islands. The resulting organization provided a means whereby the youth, along with the Evangelical Union, could exercise their leadership in the building of a Filipino church and in exerting Christian influence upon the life of the nation.

The founding convention adopted a Decalogue of Protestant Youth, which served as the basis of the actions of the Philippine Youth Movement in the subsequent years. Three of the ten parts of the Decalogue which are particularly relevant here are as follows:

> II. We believe in the Christian interpretation of nationalism. Therefore we hold that God has called the Filipino people to a high mission of service to humanity.
>
> . . . . . .

V. We shall . . . endeavor to establish a self-supporting, self-propagating, Filipino-led, Evangelical Church characterized by brotherly cooperation between its various bodies; we look forward prayerfully and thoughtfully to the establishment of a United Evangelical Church for the Philippines; the purpose of this Church being to carry the spirit of Jesus and His religion to every portion of the Orient where He is unknown.

. . . . . .

VIII. We believe in the Christian interpretation of internationalism as all men of all nations and races are equal in the sight of God, who is the common Father of mankind. We shall strive to make universal brotherhood a living reality. Therefore we shall oppose all attempts to settle international differences on any basis except justice, reason, and friendly understanding.[17]

Thus, in the Philippine Youth Movement, as in the Evangelical Union, there is the objective of an indigenous church within the context of obedience to the gospel. Nationalism is stressed, but within the bounds of responsibility to the international community. These emphases were to provide further impetus to the indigenous church that was emerging in the islands.

Background of the Merging Churches

While all member churches of the Evangelical Union affirmed their desire for a single church, four members were to take the lead in actualizing this long-standing commitment. The four were the churches established by the Presbyterian, Congregational, and United Brethren missions, and the United Church of Manila.

PRESBYTERIAN

Beginning in 1899, the Presbyterian mission made intensive efforts in the Philippines. The scene of its work was a large area south of Manila, including a number of widely scattered islands where five dialects were spoken.[18] In much of this area resentment against the friars had not been great, and Catholicism had remained strong.[19] Hence, the Presbyterians had a particularly difficult field in which to work. Despite the difficulties, numbers grew from six converts in the first six months to 11,169 members by 1909 and 20,780 members by 1929.[20]

In addition to intensive evangelistic efforts, the Presbyterians

began other significant work in the islands. With the largest expenditures of any of the Protestant groups, they led in medical and student work with four hospitals, five student centers, and six dormitories.[21] Silliman Institute, now a university, was the first Protestant school in the country and is today one of the finest mission-sponsored educational institutions anywhere in the world. The purpose of Silliman has been "to help form a Christian democracy, a nation that will be truly great, whose God is the Lord of righteousness and mercy."[22] This purpose has been carried out well, and the contribution of Silliman to the task of nation-building is recognized throughout the islands.

From the very beginning, the building of an indigenous church was stressed. Monico Estrella was ordained as the first Filipino Presbyterian pastor in 1904, and with the organization of the mission into a synod in 1907, the Filipinos for the first time really began to take an active part in the leadership of the church.[23]

In 1913 nationalistic feelings caused a schism in the synod, when a newspaper report erroneously stated that James Rodgers, then on furlough, had spoken publicly in the United States against Philippine independence. Before the error could be corrected (the speech had been given by another American pastor who had once served the American community in Manila), four of the best churches in the Presbytery of Manila seceded. The churches were in Cavite, long a province of strong nationalistic sentiments. The schism, which called itself "La Iglesia de los Cristianos Filipinos," was permanent, and it became a strong organization.[24]

The next year, in order to remove from Presbyterian work any appearance of foreign domination—and fulfilling original mission policy—the missionaries effected the formation of the synod into a truly independent Filipino body which was called "The Evangelical Church of the Philippines."[25] This church was no longer under the jurisdiction of the American church. Those who were ordained missionaries withdrew their membership from the Presbyterian church, U.S.A., and became members of the Filipino church.[26] A Filipino, José Moleta, was elected moderator of the Evangelical church.[27] Dr. Rodgers contrasts this early indigenization of the church in the Philippines with the experience

in China, where the older missionaries held on to the reins of leadership as long as they possibly could and stood in the way of letting the Chinese Christians themselves direct the life of the church.[28]

While the church's institutional work continued for many years under missionary leadership, local and national policies were increasingly made and carried out by the Filipinos themselves. The weakest area of the developing indigenous church was that of self-support. Thus, in 1916, of eighty-eight organized churches, only two were paying fully their pastor's salary.[29] Some progress had been made by the time of the 1929 union, but the church still remained dependent upon outside funds for its growth and development.

Nonetheless, the life of the Evangelical church in the Philippines was vigorous. It brought to the new United Evangelical church a large constituency, strong institutional work, and genuine accomplishments in the important areas of self-leadership and autonomy.

CONGREGATIONAL

The Evangelical Union assigned to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions the distant island of Mindanao for its labors. This southernmost island of the country was a vast and largely unexplored region, containing not only various dialect groups and many pagan tribes, but also a large Muslim population. This great diversity and isolation made it probably the most difficult field in the entire archipelago.

The American Board sent its first missionary, Robert Black, to Davao in southern Mindanao in 1902. He and the missionaries who followed him found Mindanao a difficult area indeed. There were no members gained during the first five years and only seventy during the next five years.[30] In 1915, the evangelistic work was expanded into the northern part of the island, where results were more favorable. By 1929 there were 3,963 members.[31]

The Congregational mission established significant and greatly needed medical and educational programs. Because Mindanao was plagued by a particularly deadly form of malaria, as well as other

tropical diseases, the American Board established two hospitals.[32] The mission also established seven schools which served, for the most part, the illiterate tribal people.[33] It also co-operated in the Bible school at Silliman and in Union Theological Seminary.

The best-known activity of the Congregationalists was the literacy work started by Frank C. Laubach among the Muslims in 1929. Discovering a simple method for teaching illiterates how to read, Laubach began a widespread literacy program that eventually came under the auspices of the National Council of Churches. He worked out keys for teaching twelve of the most widely spoken dialects, and his system spread throughout the islands.[34] By 1932, with over five hundred volunteers assisting in the program, forty-two thousand had been taught to read.[35] Today Dr. Laubach's literacy work is worldwide and is under the sponsorship of the United Nations.

Like the Presbyterians, the American Board missionaries worked from the outset for a United Evangelical church. The congregations established by the Congregational mission were given the name "Evangelical Church," and the members did not even know that the missionaries were from the Congregational church.[36]

Despite the small size of the Congregational work in terms of numbers, both on the local and the mission-wide level, there was a large degree of self-government. This was vigorously encouraged by the missionaries.[37] Missionaries figured prominently in the work of the schools and hospitals; but even here, Filipinos had a large and important role in the administration of the institutions.[38]

Self-support was a more difficult goal to achieve. In 1916, all of the pastors' salaries were paid entirely by the mission.[39] By 1924 one-half of the salaries came from the congregations themselves, and one church, that at Cagayan de Oro City, was fully self-supporting.[40] In order to encourage further self-support, one of the Filipino pastors, Proculo A. Rodriguez, urged that the Filipinos be given a fuller understanding of the use of mission funds and a voice in their appropriation. He stated that this would give the nationals themselves a greater sense of stewardship, as well as greater confidence in the missionaries. With the encouragement

of Dr. Laubach and the Rev. Mr. Frank Woodward, the missionaries quickly implemented the suggestion. As a result, "not long after this, the Conference of the Church really became the important body and the missionary circle largely a maintenance committee."[41]

An indigenous church was, therefore, being realized. This Evangelical church of Mindanao brought to the more inclusive United Evangelical church in 1929 a nonsectarian spirit, well-educated leaders, important educational and medical projects, and a vigorous humanitarian zeal.

UNITED BRETHREN

The Rev. Mr. E. S. Eby and the Rev. Mr. Sanford B. Kurtz arrived in the Philippines in 1901 to begin the mission of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.[42] The Evangelical Union assigned to the United Brethren the Ilocano provinces of La Union, Ilocos Sur, and Ilocos Norte.[43] The mission decided that, instead of seeking to evangelize its whole area, it would concentrate its efforts in La Union. This was a wise decision that in time made the United Brethren field "the best evangelized and the best organized of all the mission fields in the Philippines."[44]

The work began to show results slowly, but by 1904 the first congregation had been organized with eighteen members. At the end of 1905 there were three pastors, seven congregations, and 188 members.[45] By 1908 the work had grown sufficiently so that a Mission Conference was organized with eight missionaries, nine pastors, and a lay delegate from each of four districts.[46]

Institutional work of the United Brethren consisted of a hospital, two schools, and a student center,[47] as well as co-operation in Union Theological Seminary. One of the schools was for girls, and the mission was characterized by a strong emphasis on the woman's place in the life of the church. The medical work was entirely under Filipino doctors. The mission had a good press with a vigorous emphasis on publication and translation.[48]

Perhaps the most outstanding accomplishment of the United Brethren mission is seen in the highly capable group of Filipinos that were reached and influenced by the church. The mission, in

building an indigenous church, saw the need of reaching the educated citizenry that could give leadership to both congregation and community.[49] The effect of the mission's effort in this direction was enhanced by the presence of a number of highly capable Filipino ministers such as Juan A. Abellera, C. P. Lorenzana, and Enrique C. Sobrepeña. The unusual caliber of the laymen found in the churches of the mission is demonstrated by the fact that many of them were not only community leaders but provincial leaders, governors, and congressmen. This number includes Camilo Osias —educator, senator, and former Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C. The United Brethren Mission also had a policy of sending Filipinos to the United States not only to study, but to speak before congregations and other audiences in order to remove American prejudices and misconceptions concerning the Filipinos and to promote intelligent interest and concern for the Philippines.[50]

The beginning of self-leadership in the church started with the organization of the Annual Conference in 1908. The following year the pastors were given direct oversight of their congregations, and in 1912 Juan Abellera was made "pastoral supervisor" of the south district of the conference.[51] The overall superintendent of the work was the Rev. Mr. H. W. Widdoes. In 1919 a Filipino assistant supervisor began working with Widdoes, and in 1925 a Filipino took over his duties during Widdoes' furlough.[52] Then, in 1926, the Rev. Mr. C. P. Lorenzana was appointed as full-time conference superintendent. In 1929 the Annual Conference, until then part of the United Brethren church, became "The Northern Luzon Conference of the United Evangelical Church in the Philippines." At this time Lorenzana was elected conference moderator, the new designation of the office.[53]

This increase in Filipino leadership was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in missionary direction. The missionary report to the Foreign Missionary Society in 1928 stated:

> We are come as *helpers* to an indigenous Church, which is already established here. We come as assistants to leaders who not only are our equals but excell us in their usefulness. As the work goes on, they must increase and we must decrease.[54]

This increase in Filipino leadership extended into all areas of the church as, the following year, institutions of the church came under the direction of boards of trustees, the majority of whose members were Filipino.[55] The only exception was the Bible Training School, whose board had three missionaries and two Filipinos, plus the conference superintendent (a Filipino), who was an ex-officio member.[56]

Self-propagation and self-support were encouraged through the increased self-leadership in the church. Near the lowlands of La Union there were many animistic mountain tribes for which the church early felt a missionary concern. In 1912 a Filipino missionary society was organized,[57] and in 1915 the first Filipino missionary supported by the Filipinos themselves was appointed. In time, significant work developed through the combined efforts of American and Filipino missionaries.[58]

The increase in self-support is seen in the fact that while in 1910 97 per cent of all expenses in the mission (excluding missionary salaries and travel) came from abroad, by 1920 the percentage had dropped to 79 per cent, and by 1930 it had fallen to 50 per cent.[59]

Dr. Walter N. Roberts says that three factors greatly affected this indigenization. One was the pending formation of the United Evangelical church. Another was the General Conference of the United Brethren church in 1925, which made provision for increased self-direction in the mission. The third was the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1928 and the follow-up conferences, which brought considerable new light to bear upon the needs and capabilities of the younger churches.[60] Thus is seen the interplay of forces within the country itself, from the sending church, and from the world Christian community.

The United Brethren contribution to the merger consisted particularly in the large number of outstanding lay and clerical leaders it had produced. Also of significance were the United Brethren achievement of thorough evangelism of one selected area; the good organization of the churches; and the large degree of self-direction already accomplished.

UNITED CHURCH OF MANILA

Joining the three uniting churches in 1929 was the unique United Church of Manila, a single congregation that had been founded in 1924 through the merger of a United Brethren church and a Congregational church. This church was begun by a group of Protestants in Manila who were impatient over the delays in progress toward church union. The church grew in numbers and influence. By 1940 it had over a thousand members.[61]

First under the pastorate of Juan A. Abellera and later under Enrique C. Sobrepeña, the United Church of Manila pioneered as an indigenous church that set an example of ecumenical concern, self-support, and vigorous lay and clerical leadership.[62] During the pastorate of Dr. Sobrepeña, the first book of Filipino sermons was published—*A New Emphasis in Religion*, a series of sermons preached on the general theme of a united, indigenous Evangelical church in the islands.[63]

The Indigenous Character of the New Church

The 1929 formation of the United Evangelical church intensified the efforts for a church that was truly Filipino in leadership, propagation, and support. Churches that had been separated from one another geographically (except in Manila, which was the one place where all missions had work) now had become one church, extending from the north of Luzon to the south of Mindanao.

The General Assembly of the United Evangelical church elected Enrique C. Sobrepeña as its moderator. The secretary was an American, G. W. Wright; and of the eleven members of the executive committee, nine were Filipino.[64]

Dr. Sobrepeña led the church in vigorous nationalistic efforts to remove all signs of missionary paternalism and to fulfil the desires for a *Filipino* church. Thus he said in 1931:

> At this stage of the national Church's life, the Mission should relinquish completely its former function of program making and leave this wholly to the national Church. The missionaries, acting not as representatives of the Missions, but as members of the younger Church will continue to help in all the work of the Church, but to inspire and not to dominate.[65]

This desire for further self-leadership was an expression of nationalism that did not exclude the foreign missionary and his contributions to the indigenous church, but maintained the maturity of the church and a willingness to accept the missionary as an equal and as a co-worker.

Self-support continued to be difficult to achieve. Concerted efforts were made, however, to meet this lingering problem. The United Evangelical church, in order to bring self-support on the local level, voted after its organization to reduce yearly by 10 per cent the grants to aided churches. Then, in 1935, it voted to discontinue on April 1, 1936, all aid to churches for pastors' salaries, except as approved in each particular case.[66] Mission funds were thus being completely cut off from the local church, leaving these funds for extension and institutional work.

Self-propagation was a constant concern of the new United church. Evangelistic campaigns were frequent, adding impressive membership gains. In the two years prior to 1933, these campaigns brought in 6,357 new members, making a total membership of 32,490.[67] In 1935 new conferences were organized in the Visayas and Mindanao, reflecting not only migration of members to the south, but the adding of many new members as well.[68]

These efforts toward the threefold goal of self-leadership, self-support, and self-propagation generally fulfilled the Filipino and missionary concerns for an indigenous church. They also fulfilled the nationalistic drive for self-determination in the church. Little attention, however, was given to indigenous development in such areas as theology, art, and music.

The Wartime Union

With the coming of World War II, total self-direction was thrust upon the United Evangelical church in a most sudden manner and under the most trying of circumstances. The coming of the Japanese brought upon the Philippines a new and brutal imperialism that completely cut the nation off from the United States. American missionaries were imprisoned, mission funds were abruptly stopped, and most of the institutional work of the church came to a halt.

The Religious Section of the Japanese army encouraged the unity of all the Protestant forces in the islands. This was done in order to simplify relations with the various bodies—and to make their control easier. On October 10, 1942, thirteen small denominations came together at the United Church of Manila under the leadership of Enrique C. Sobrepeña. Even though the Philippine Federation of Evangelical Churches was still in existence, these various bodies bypassed it and formed the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the Philippines.[69]

In October, 1943, this new federation proclaimed a new church union called "The Evangelical Church in the Philippines." The union consisted of the member churches of the new federation, and all Protestant bodies were asked to join.[70]

By the time of the first General Assembly of the new church in April, 1944, those considered members were the Disciples of Christ, the Philippine Methodists, the Unida de Cristo, the United Christian Church of God, the Salvation Army, and the United Evangelical church.[71] Membership was refused by the Episcopal church, which said it was a Catholic body. The Methodist church delayed by saying that the proposed union had to be approved by each Annual Conference.[72] The Baptists and the Churches of Christ rejected the union because of its centralized government.[73]

With the liberation of the islands at the beginning of 1945, the union began to fall apart. Leonardo G. Dia, moderator of the United Evangelical church before and during the war years, had been isolated far to the south in the Visayas and had had no part in the negotiations for union. Sobrepeña had assumed leadership of the United Evangelical church in Dia's absence and had informed as many of the churches as possible of the merger negotiations. With the war over, however, Dia completely rejected the union, saying that neither he nor the United Evangelical church was a part of it.[74]

A great deal of bitterness and confusion over the union engulfed the Protestants after the war. The United Brethren and the Disciples were willing to try to make the best out of the union, but a large part of the United Evangelical church would have nothing to do with it. Other churches pulled out of the union, say-

ing that they had not realized they were being brought into anything more than a church federation.[75]

For a while, the identification of nationalism with organic union suffered a setback. The wartime union had been actively pushed by the imperialist power of Japan, thus leaving many Filipinos of the resistance movement embittered.

Despite this union controversy, however, after the war the immediate problem that overshadowed all else was the rebuilding that had to be done. In the United Evangelical church, 153 buildings had been totally destroyed and many others had been looted and damaged. In some places all the members' homes were lost, and in at least one place, Lingga, the entire congregation had been massacred. At Albay, the mission hospital, nurses' home, tuberculosis ward, and two doctors' residences had been destroyed.[76] Nonetheless, the church had continued to grow and to witness during the war years. At the war's end there were 434 churches and places of meeting, 100,000 members, 17 schools, 6 hospitals, Silliman University, a theological school, and Union Theological Seminary.[77]

A Planning Conference in October of 1946 announced a four-year plan to move the church forward. The United Evangelical church was to take over all ecclesiastical functions formerly administered by the missions, and mission property was to be transferred as rapidly as possible to the Filipio church. Missionaries were all to be under the direction of the church as individual participants in its program. At the same time, the mission boards were to continue aid with funds, personnel, and counsel.[78]

Formation of the United Church of Christ

By 1948 the conflicts over the wartime union had been resolved, and the hopes for a more inclusive church were realized with the formation of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines. Despite differences of outlook during the war, there had continued to be a strong belief that Christian unity and a truly indigenous church were closely linked. This found further expression with the merger in 1948 of the United Evangelical church, the Evangelical church, and the Philippine Methodist church.

The Merging Groups

The background of the bodies making up the United Evangelical church has already been discussed. The Philippine Methodist church, which split from the Methodist church in 1933 over the issues of nationalism and administration, will be examined in the next chapter. The Evangelical church in the Philippines, whose formation during the war has already been mentioned, was made up of the Disciples of Christ, the Unida de Cristo, and a number of smaller groups.

Work for the Disciples of Christ was begun in 1901 by the United Christian Missionary Society with the sending of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Hanna. While at first the Disciples did not co-operate in the Evangelical Union, in 1923 they joined the Union and began restricting their labors to sections of northern Luzon and northern Mindanao.[79] In addition to making strong evangelistic efforts, the mission opened three hospitals, a school of nursing, three dormitories, and a printing press.[80]

The Disciples very quickly led the way among Protestants in establishing churches with a high degree of self-leadership.[81] Their simple polity and emphasis upon lay preaching rapidly placed administrative and preaching tasks in the hands of the local members.[82] Filipinos also quickly took leadership responsibilities in the district and provincial conventions, as well as in mission institutions.[83] When the Depression came, the mission withdrew all of its personnel and drastically curtailed its budget;[84] however, the churches were strong enough to go on alone. By 1940 the Disciples had 76 organized churches, 24 other meeting places, 4,787 adult members, 108 native workers, and two missionaries.[85] The Ilocano-speaking Disciples entered the 1948 merger, but the Tagalog-speaking Disciples chose to remain out of the new United church until 1963.

The Iglesia Evangelica Unida de Cristo, which formed another component of the wartime union, was officially begun in 1932 by a merger of six small, indigenous groups. These groups, coming originally from divisions in the Methodist and Presbyterian missions, included the Iglesia Evangelica de la Cristiana Trinitaria, the Iglesia Evangelica Reformada, and the Iglesia Evangelica de Atlag,

Malolos. A layman, Don Toribio Teodoro, was the moving spirit behind this union of 12,500 Evangelicals.[86] Part of the Unida de Cristo entered the 1948 merger, while the larger part of it has remained a separate denomination.

The Founding Assembly

The United Church of Christ in the Philippines had its beginning in May, 1948, when representatives of the uniting churches met at Ellinwood-Malate Church in Manila. The delegates present, diverse in background, adopted as a simple basis of union the belief that all "acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Son of God and as the Saviour and Lord of life, and enter the church by the sacrament of baptism as Jesus Christ himself exemplified and commanded."[87]

The government of the church follows largely congregational and presbyterian patterns, and leaves the local congregations to follow their accustomed practices and worship. Annual Conferences on a regional level meet yearly, and the national General Assembly meets every two years. There are four episcopal areas, with bishops elected for four-year terms. The first bishops elected were Dr. Sobrepeña for northern Luzon; Cipriano Navarro for southern Luzon; Leonardo G. Dia for the Visayas; and Proculo A. Rodriguez for Mindanao. The latter, however, objecting to the title of "bishop," referred to himself as "jurisdictional head." Stephen L. Smith was elected as the general secretary, holding the overall administrative position in the church.[88]

The completion of the Founding Assembly brought into being the most inclusive United church to date in the Philippines. Summing up what had been accomplished, the Commission to Japan reported:

> The United Church of Christ in the Philippines is the product of Christian fraternity and Filipino nationalism. It is a self-governing, indigenous Church, entirely independent of foreign control. Although it is national in scope, it is unitive in character, and hopes to draw into its fellowship, groups and denominations not now participating.[89]

Continuing Nationalistic Goals

The United Church of Christ has continued to press toward the

goals of self-leadership, self-support, and self-propagation, and in recent years there has been a growing interest in nation-building. Its leaders have thought of these goals as the legitimate expression of Philippine nationalism within the church.

SELF-LEADERSHIP

The United Church of Christ is a self-governing, autonomous church. It has fraternal relations with the denominations from which it grew, but its decisions and policies arise out of its own General Assembly. By virtue of its indigeneity and independence, the United Church of Christ has been flexible in initiating policies and in relating to other bodies. For example, it helped in the formation and leadership of the Asia Council of Ecumenical Mission and the council's successor, the East Asia Christian Conference, before the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches were ready to accept these organizations.[90]

It was earlier noted that the United Evangelical church has had a Filipino moderator since its inception in 1929. All the bishops of the United Church of Christ have been Filipinos, although missionaries have served as general secretaries in the past and continue to serve along with Filipinos in commission leadership. It is not felt that all of these major positions must necessarily be in Filipino hands, since the mission organizations are less and less important and the missionaries are thought of increasingly as a part of the church in the Philippines.

The liaison between the United Church of Christ and the Boards of Missions is the Philippine Interboard Office. In this joint office is handled the business related to the maintenance and guidance of the more than two hundred missionaries in the United Church of Christ. It is the church in the Philippines, however, which assigns the missionaries to their places of work and residence.[91] The Personnel Committee, which handles these assignments, has seven Filipinos and four Americans.[92]

In 1958 the United Church of Christ had 1,026 local churches, 902 of which were organized. To serve these congregations there were 309 ordained ministers, 225 licentiates, 361 local lay preachers, 288 deaconesses, and 172 Bible women.[93] Constant efforts are

being made by the United Church of Christ to increase the number of men and women in the full-time service of the church so that every congregation will be ministered to adequately. There is also a strong emphasis upon lay leadership in the life of the church.

SELF-SUPPORT

The area of self-support needs strengthening, although this problem has been consistently dealt with over the years and genuine gains have been made.

Local churches are almost completely self-supporting, except in those frontier areas where the work is new. Much of the institutional work is far too expensive for the United Church of Christ to carry alone, and the continuance of funds from abroad is still needed and welcomed. The leaders feel that it is imperative, however, that the general administrative budgt, while still subsidized from America, should be assumed locally as soon as possible. This administrative budget includes the salaries paid to the bishops, the administrative officers, and the commission directors, as well as other general administrative costs. In 1955 the church voted to assume this budget completely over a period of eight years.[94] Despite increased local giving, however, this goal has not yet been reached. At present the salaries of the bishops, the general secretary, and the general treasurer come from local sources, although other administrative costs are still subsidized from foreign sources. Efforts have been made to streamline the ecclesiastical structure as much as possible in order to help solve this problem.

Concerning the receipt of funds and personnel from abroad, the Executive Committee of the church has stated:

> While assistance must continue to be given by the older and stronger Churches to the younger Churches, such assistance must be given on the basis of partnership in carrying out the joint missionary enterprise. The Church in the Philippines should be given major responsibility for decision in the prosecution of the common endeavor, particularly in the wise use of funds and the creative employment of personnel.[95]

SELF-PROPAGATION

The United Church of Christ has a strong program of

evangelism. Not only is evangelism emphasized in the local churches, but it is also directed to the Filipino tribal people and to people in other lands. Building upon earlier work among the various tribes, the United Church of Christ has continued to extend its witness among the tribes of Luzon, Mindanao, and other islands.

Of great significance is the mission work in other countries. At a time when so much of the world identifies "missions" with the West and imperialism, the Filipinos are in an especially strategic part of the world church. Filipino Protestants, vigorous and evangelistic, can send missionaries into areas where Westerners are often suspect and are even forbidden entrance. Recognizing this fact, the United Church of Christ, shortly after its formation, began to recruit missionaries from its ranks. By 1960 it had twenty missionaries at work in other countries, including Turkey, Iran, Thailand, Ethiopia, Egypt, and the United States. Two of the missionary couples are completely supported by the United Church of Christ. Support for the others comes from co-operating churches in America.[96]

By 1963 the United Church of Christ—the largest Protestant church in the islands—had 1,146 organized churches and 142,405 communicant members. There were 339 ordained ministers, 578 unordained men workers, and 397 women workers serving in 4 jurisdictions, 26 annual conferences, and 2 mission conferences.[97] It was making gains in self-support and had a vital program of evangelism at home and in other countries. Its membership was spread over most of the nation and included all classes of people.

PARTICIPATION IN NATION-BUILDING

The major concern of the United Church of Christ and its predecessors has been evangelism in the traditional sense of building churches and enlarging membership. However, in recent years there has been a growing social awareness among Protestants, and the United Church of Christ has become increasingly aware of its responsibility in the task of nation-building. As part of its role in strengthening the moral and spiritual fiber of the country, it has been developing an impressive program through its Commission

on Christian Witness and Service, which includes rural, medical, social, and industrial outreach. Among its significant efforts is the rural life program, which helps to teach farmers such things as better stewardship of the soil and improved methods of raising poultry and livestock. There is a very important program of industrial evangelism. This includes, for example, institutes on Christian concern in labor-management relations, the training of pastors to understand the role of the church in areas of rapid social change, and emphasis throughout the church on Christian vocations in the modern world. A regular periodical, *Church and Community,* deals with issues of social concern and is widely used. The United Church of Christ has adopted a Statement of Social Concern, which demonstrates its maturing concept of the church's role in society.

The National Council of Churches in the Philippines (before 1963 known as the Philippine Federation of Christian Churches), of which the United Church of Christ is an important member, also gives expression to the Protestant concern for nation-building. In a statement shortly after independence in 1946, the Federation challenged Filipinos "to live a life of simplicity and self-restraint, to cultivate the virtues of industry and thrift, to avoid any show of ostentation and extravagance, and to refrain from gambling and other useless pastimes." Finally, the Federation stated: "We urge our countrymen to help build (for) our Republic a life of self-sufficiency, productivity and creative efforts."[98] The Federation initiated the credit union and co-operative movement in the country. The National Council, in addition to a program of rural uplift, has given some support to progressive economic and social legislation, has favored land reform, and has been an advocate of honest government. It has a wide-ranging program of social welfare, as seen, for example, in its work with Church World Service in such areas as flood and earthquake relief. The National Council cooperates with many civic agencies, such as Community Chest and the Mental Health Association. It has made public pronouncements on a variety of subjects, supporting such issues as the Rizal Bill of 1956[99] and the efforts for nationalization of the schools in 1958.[100] In such ways as these, the United Church of Christ and the other

members of the National Council are making a vital contribution to the Philippines.

AREAS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

The great emphasis of Philippine nationalism upon religious self-determination has found significant fulfilment in the United Church of Christ. However, if the United Church of Christ is to become further related in depth to Philippine culture, it must move beyond the stage of self-determination and become more indigenous throughout its life, thought, and artistic expressions.

Some efforts have already been made in this direction. The United Church of Christ has worked tirelessly for an inclusive National Protestant church that would not be bound to the denominational pattern inherited from the West. It contributed to the formation of the East Asia Christian Conference as a way of helping Asian Christianity find its own character and purpose. The polity and structure of the United Church of Christ, while not limited to any denominational type, and while formulated in the light of Philippine needs, have nonetheless remained under critical examination by church leaders because of certain inadequacies such as an unwieldy organizational setup. Important studies done at the Cultural Research Center of Silliman University have contributed to a deeper understanding of Philippine culture. Some Filipino Christian artistic expressions have also been produced. The growing social concern of the United Church of Christ is helping to define the church's role in this period of nation-building.

Also of significance is the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference, held annually since 1957. The interfaith group attending this conference, composed of social scientists, missionaries, educators, and other interested persons, deals with the problems of religious and cultural change. Not sponsored by any church, the conference is a continuing effort of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and others to understand the process of religious acculturation.

Nonetheless, all these efforts must be intensified and extended into further areas, for the prevalent forms of theology, art, architecture, liturgy, and music are still almost identical to those forms that were brought originally from the West.

The United Church of Christ and the World Christian Community

Nationalism has played a vital role in the building of an indigenous and united Protestant church in the Philippines. But it has been the kind of nationalism that, in its search for national self-integrity and self-realization in the church, has not gone to the extreme of excluding the foreigner with his talents and gifts. Nor has the national United Church of Christ turned in upon its own country in outlook—its view is a world view, symbolized by its overseas missionaries and its active participation in the East Asia Christian Conference and the World Council of Churches. The relationship of the United Church of Christ, the missionary, and the world Christian community was well expressed by Dr. Sobrepeña, the present general secretary, when he said:

> The Church can fully achieve indigeneity in its locus only as it is released from any kind or shadow of outside rule, control, or direction. Our affairs should be governed by us, our strategy should be planned by us, and our operation should be directed by us. And when we say, by us, we include our co-workers, missionaries and fraternal workers from other lands, who by the providence of God have been given to us. . . . Their presence as foreigners continually reminds us that no Church can carry out its own mission without remaining in fellowship with the Universal Church. The presence of fellow-workers from foreign countries, is an expression of that fellowship.[101]

Significance of the History

The achievements and contributions of the United Church of Christ, then, might be evaluated as follows when measured within the framework of our five norms:

1. The Protestant missions brought to the Philippines the evangelical understanding of the Christian faith as a gospel for all men and nations. The relevance of this message has been observed in the moral and spiritual transformation that has come in the lives of many influenced by this witness.

2. Although established in the Philippines for little more than half a century, the United Church of Christ (and its predecessors) made rapid advance toward indigenization. Autonomy under Fili-

pino leadership was accomplished in the Presbyterian mission in 1914, and this same policy was also carried out in the merger of 1929 that established the United Evangelical church. Growing achievements in self-support and self-propagation also took place during these years. The polity and structure of the United Church of Christ are adaptations from various denominational types which attempt to meet the needs of the Filipino church. Some indigenous music and art have emerged in the United Church of Christ, although the prevalent forms of Protestant artistic expression, as well as the types of theology and worship, are little changed from their Western counterparts.

3. The Protestant objective of establishing indigenous churches as rapidly as possible has been in harmony with the nationalistic goal of the Filipinos of self-determination in the religious institutions of the country. At the same time, the United Church of Christ with its ecumenical character and its international relationships, has not been a captive of nationalistic influences in the country.

4. The United Church of Christ has, from its inception, been an integral part of the world Christian community. One of the great emphases of the United Church of Christ (and of its predecessors) has been to build an ecumenical Filipino church that would be closely related to the world-wide Christian fellowship. The United Church of Christ is active in the East Asia Christian Conference and the World Council of Churches. It is working in partnership with several churches in America in a joint missionary enterprise. The United Church of Christ receives a substantial amount of missionary personnel and resources for the carrying out of its national program. At the same time, it is engaged in an active missionary program both at home and in a number of foreign countries.

5. The predecessors of the United Church of Christ contributed to the task of nation-building primarily through the moral and spiritual influence they exerted upon individuals and the Christian values they held before the nation. In recent years, this contribution has been enhanced as a growing awareness of the social responsibility of the church has emerged in both the United

Church of Christ and, to a lesser extent, the National Council of Churches. This more profound contribution to the task of nation-building is being expressed through a variety of projects, pronouncements, and publications that deal with such areas as rapid social change, economic development, and social justice.

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN THE PHILIPPINES

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN THE PHILIPPINES

THE METHODIST CHURCH in the Philippines exhibits many similarities with the United Church of Christ. The missions from which these two churches have come were established during the same period in history. It was a time when the emerging ecumenical movement was coming to have a unifying influence on Protestant missions. The goals and efforts of these missions were closely similar, and their responses to Philippine nationalism were generally parallel. The missions sought to build a united Evangelical church that would be indigenous in leadership, support, and propagation and that would relate itself deeply to the life of the people. Their central emphasis was evangelism, but there was also strong emphasis on institutional work such as in schools and hospitals. They believed that out of their efforts would grow a Filipino church from which would come spiritually and morally renewed men and women who would help construct a better society and nation. In this way they saw their mission as helping to fulfil the noblest aspirations of Philippine nationalism for self-development and self-direction.

Certain differences between the development of the United Church of Christ and that of the Methodist church, however, make it necessary to consider them separately in order to demonstrate another facet of the problem we are discussing. The strong connectional tie of Philippine Methodism to American Methodism that has continued to the present day has been an important fac-

tor in keeping the Methodist church out of the United Church; it has created certain conflicts with nationalistic elements in Methodism that have contributed to two schisms; and it has slowed down the rate and extent of indigenization in the church. These factors will be considered in the pages that follow.

The Building of Philippine Methodism

The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal church sent Bishop James M. Thoburn to the Philippines in February, 1899. Thoburn, missionary bishop for Southern Asia, went to the islands to consider the missionary opportunities there. During his brief stay he made many contacts and held evangelistic services. Following his recommendations, the Methodist Episcopal church sent its first regularly appointed missionaries to the Philippines early in 1900.[1] As we have seen, the Methodist mission was one of the founders of the Evangelical Union, which established a program of comity and other forms of co-operative Protestant endeavor in the islands. The Methodist mission was given the area stretching from Manila north to Cagayan and Ilocos Sur south of Vigan. Its work spread rapidly as the mission sought to build a church that was self-directing, self-supporting, and self-propagating.

Self-leadership

The methods used to extend the Methodist church in the Philippines resembled those that had characterized the spread of the Wesleyan movement in England and America. Street preaching, outdoor meetings, and house-to-house visitation brought to the people a message of heartfelt religion that was practical and relevant to their lives. Converts were gathered into class meetings and were trained to understand the meaning of Christian discipleship. New churches were quickly organized and encouraged to move forward on their own.

As the Methodist mission carried out its labors, it sought to develop effective Filipino leadership as quickly as possible. This goal was intensified by the rapid growth of the work, which demanded far more workers than the small force of missionaries supplied. The first Filipino Protestant to be ordained was Nicolas Zamora,

who was ordained in March, 1900, and placed in a position of prominence in the work of the Methodist mission.[2] Many others followed him, including a large number of volunteer helpers. By 1903 there were three ordained and sixty-seven unordained preachers and thirty other helpers.[3] This number does not include volunteers such as these described in a report in 1905:

> In many cases remote barrios which had not been visited for months, owing to illness of the missionary, or to floods of water and bottomless roads, have maintained their . . . services wholly by the voluntary services of members of their own organizations, and have grown in numbers and spirituality all the time. In more than one case the missionary has found the organization stronger than when last seen, and with a house of worship planned, constructed and occupied during the time that he was unable to do so much as visit them.[4]

In the early years the faith of these Filipino Protestants was strongly tested by persecution. Bibles were burned, chapels destroyed, ministers jailed, members stoned and discriminated against as this new faith spread. Practically all of the violence and most of the persecution have stopped in recent times with the growth of democratic practices, the rule of law, and the ecumenical spirit. Such trials have served only to test and strengthen Protestantism, however, and evangelical Christianity has become vitally related to the life of the people.

The development of self-leadership continued as the church advanced. Filipino pastors were admitted into the Annual Conference on the same basis as the missionaries, and by 1925 they had ten times as many votes as the missionaries in the Annual Conference. At the same time, most of the chairmen of the conference committees were Filipinos, and all church property was held by the Annual Conference, with two of the three conference trustees being Filipinos.[5] By 1931, seven of the eight district superintendents were Filipinos, as were ten of the sixteen members of the Mission Field Finance Committee.[6] The extent of Filipino leadership is particularly striking when compared with the long struggle of Filipinos to assume leadership in Philippine Catholicism.

At this point it is important to notice the different institu-

tional framework in which the Methodist church developed, as compared with the development in those bodies which now comprise the United Church of Christ. While self-leadership developed rapidly in each, the rate at the top level was slower in the Methodist church than in the uniting churches. It will be recalled that in 1914 the Presbyterian mission became an autonomous church under a Filipino moderator, and that the United Evangelical church, formed in 1929, had a Filipino moderator from its inception. The Methodist mission, on the other hand, did not develop into an independent church or a national church through merger with other groups; rather, it developed into a Central Conference of the Methodist church in America and remained under American bishops until World War II. While under Filipino bishops since 1944, Philippine Methodism retains a close organic relationship with American Methodism.

Self-support

A second goal of Methodism has been self-support. From the beginning, stewardship was a dominant note in Methodist preaching as new congregations were taught to support their pastor and church life and to carry forth their own program with as much self-sufficiency as possible. This was difficult to achieve for some years, but the Filipino workers themselves led the way on their meager salaries. For example, in 1915, one district reported that workers in the various circuits of the district were organizing into tithing bands. Twenty-seven of the thirty pastors and deaconesses in the district that year were themselves tithing and were emphasizing tithing among their people. These workers alone, through their personal tithe, were able to support a Filipino missionary to the tribal Negritos.[7]

Leading all other Protestant groups in advancing toward self-support, the Methodist mission in 1918 brought into effect a policy of withdrawing all subsidies from the individual churches in the entire field. To prepare for this 1918 policy, a Domestic Missionary Society had been organized in 1916 to help the weaker churches that would not be able to carry on without subsidies. Each missionary, pastor, and deaconess gave one-half of his tithe to the

society, and there were collections for it every month in all the church schools. By 1919 self-support had been reached on the local level, with the newer and weaker congregations allowed to receive a maximum of three years' support from the older churches.[8]

While local support has been good, there is still a heavy dependence on subsidies from abroad for continuing institutional programs, as well as for the overall administrative costs of the church. While the members understand and support the needs of their local congregations, in addition to home missionary obligations, they have not as yet fulfilled their responsibilities for these other areas of the life of the church; however, it should be said that a great deal of the church's structure and program may indeed be too heavy for Philippine Methodism to carry with the resources it has available. The same holds true for the United Church of Christ. This means that certain aspects of the church's program and structure beyond the local level will continue to need subsidies from abroad; but it also means that the total program and structure of the church should be critically examined and, if necessary, restructured and modified so as to be more expressive of the church's genuine needs and capacity for meeting those needs. Such a process could not only decrease the necessity for outside funds, but could also serve to deepen the indigenous character of the church.

Self-propagation

The third goal for the Methodist mission, as in the other Protestant missions, was self-propagation. This goal grew out of the conviction that if the church is truly to take root in Philippine soil and fulfil the needs of the people, it should not only lead and support itself, but also propagate itself.

The rapid growth of Methodism indicates the degree to which this goal was reached. Numerous volunteer workers and a smaller number of full-time church workers witnessed to their faith from barrio to barrio. In addition to the many volunteers, there were by 1933 a total of 91 ordained ministers and 49 local or lay preachers serving a Methodist community of 73,966.[9] By 1960 this number had increased to 333 ordained pastors and 189 supply pastors serv-

ing a total community of 117,232 persons,[10] including 71,973 communicant members.[11] The membership was drawn from all classes of people and from a wide geographical area of the country.

In 1915, as we have seen, a Domestic Missionary Society was begun to help the weaker churches and to extend the work. As early as 1916, the Pampanga and Pangasinan districts began sustained efforts to minister to the tribal Negritos and Igorots. Godofredo Diwa was the first Methodist missionary to be sent to the Negritos, and Marcelino Alvarez was the first to be sent to the Igorots. Alvarez succeeded in organizing an Igorot congregation on the top of a mountain, where the tribesmen built their own chapel and parsonage for their missionary pastor. Alvarez learned their dialect well and taught the Igorots hymns which he translated into the vernacular. By 1924 the Rev. Mr. Dionisio D. Alejandro, chairman of the Domestic Missionary Board, reported that there were 103 regularly organized societies giving a total of over 4,000 Philippine pesos annually for missionary work.[12]

Evangelism has remained central in Methodism to the present day. Work has reached beyond the original Methodist territory south into the Bicol region and to the islands of Masbate, Mindoro, Palawan, Romblon, Panay, and Mindanao. In 1900 the work was simply organized as the Philippine Islands Mission of the Southern Asia Central Conference. By 1967 Philippine Methodism was a Central Conference by itself, and it contained five Annual Conferences in two episcopal areas. Such growth has made the Philippines one of the strongest areas of Methodist work in the entire world.

This evangelistic concern goes far beyond the shores of the Philippines. Indicative of the concern for Christian outreach is the fact that in 1919—only twenty years after the first Protestant work had begun in the islands—the Methodist church in the Philippines sent its first missionaries abroad. Five young teachers who were college graduates and consecrated Christians were sent to teach in the Methodist school in Penang, Malaya.[13] Since that time, there has been a steady stream of Filipino Methodists going to serve in other countries.

As in the United Church of Christ, however, this admirable

development of self-determination in Methodism has not been matched by equal concern for indigenization throughout the life, thought, and artistic expression of the church. Philippine Methodism has not yet seriously examined in the light of Philippine needs the confessional tradition it has inherited from abroad. In areas such as polity, theology, and program, it has rather uncritically accepted what has come from America.

Non-theological Factors Contributing to Growth

In assessing the growth of Philippine Methodism, one should take into account several non-theological factors. Certainly of great importance was the area assigned by the Comity Agreement to the Methodist mission. This area of central and northern Luzon is one of rather heavy population concentration. Furthermore, Methodist-assigned territory was one contiguous area rather than a territory scattered over several islands; and it had, for that day and age, fairly good transportation facilities. These factors were an aid to the Methodist system of close, systematic supervision through a connectional structure of organization.

Another favorable factor was that Methodist work spread into areas where the Aglipayan movement had been strong. This movement helped to weaken the traditional hold of Roman Catholicism upon the population. In addition, as the Independent church itself began to lose many members after the 1906 Supreme Court decision, Methodism undoubtedly benefited, numerically speaking. As one early Methodist missionary wrote:

> The Aglipayan movement helps us by detaching tens of thousands of members from a nominal connection with the Church of Rome. . . . These people would never have left the Roman Catholic Church to become Protestants, feeble as was the hold of the old Church upon them; but once outside and hungry for spiritual food, they hear and are saved. Aglipay loosens the fruit from the tree, and we gather it.[14]

Ecumenical Relations

The relationship of the Methodist church to the groups comprising the United Church of Christ is significant, for it is in the area of ecumenical relations that Methodism has developed differ-

ently from the uniting churches. This development has had an important bearing upon Methodism's response to Philippine nationalism.

Early Commitment to Co-operation and Unity

From the beginning of Protestant work in the islands, Methodist commitment to co-operative endeavor on many fronts has continued. This began with the Evangelical Union in 1901 and the resulting comity agreement. In 1907 the Methodists and the Presbyterians founded the Union Theological Seminary for the training of their ministers; later, other denominations joined in this united project. In 1915 the American congregations of the Methodist and Presbyterian missions in Manila merged to form Union Church, which continues to the present day. Methodists were also an integral part of the Bible Society and the Young Men's Christian Association, and they co-operated in literature production and distribution.

In the early years, this ecumenical commitment also included efforts toward church union. At the World Mission Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, delegates from around the world showed discontent with the existing denominational patterns and many expressed desire for church union, especially in mission lands. This desire was no less fervent in the Philippines than elsewhere.

In 1914 Methodist Bishop William P. Eveland appointed a committee of two Filipinos and two Americans to work with similar Presbyterian and United Brethren committees to determine an acceptable plan of church union.[15] This joint committee became a permanent committee that worked on behalf of the member denominations in the years that followed. In 1915 it urged all participating churches to adopt the name of "The Evangelical Church of the Philippine Islands."[16] While this recommendation was not fully implemented by the Methodist church, the committee continued its efforts toward church union. In 1920 the Manila District Superintendent, Marvin Rader, stated: "The spirit of union is growing stronger in our relations with the other Protestant Missions. This spirit of unity is in keeping with the advancement of the Kingdom not only here but in all parts of the world."[17]

During the decade after 1920, however, Methodist interest in church union began to fade. By the time the 1929 merger was consummated, the Methodist church had chosen not to become a part of the union.

Change of Emphasis with Growing Confessionalism

At the same time that the movement toward church union was growing in favor in the Philippines and elsewhere, another movement, which has been called "the World Methodist Movement,"[18] was also gaining in strength within Methodism. Methodism had not only developed into the largest denomination in America, but through its vigorous mission it had also grown rapidly in many countries around the world.

In 1881 the first Ecumenical Methodist Conference was held in response to Methodism's dawning consciousness of its growth as a world body. These conferences were held every ten years thereafter, until in 1931 a permanent organ known as the Ecumenical Methodist Council was set up. The series was interrupted by the war, so that the seventh conference was not held until 1947; but at that time plans were made to meet every subsequent five years. The World Methodist Building was erected at Lake Junaluska in the United States, as the dream of many Methodist leaders for a world church took more concrete shape.[19] With Central Conferences in such widely scattered places as India, Africa, and the Philippines, by 1960 world Methodism comprised over forty Wesleyan bodies and claimed a constituency of over forty million persons.[20]

The effect of this movement for a world church was plainly evident in the Philippines. During the decade following 1920, Methodist interest in the movement toward merger among the Philippine churches began to lessen. This loss of interest was seen especially among the missionaries, but it developed among the Filipinos as well. Methodists in the islands, belonging to the largest Protestant denomination in the archipelago, expressed a growing interest in world Methodism. This fact has been pointed out by several well-known Protestant leaders who were in the islands during that period, including the first Protestant missionary to the Philippines, Presbyterian Dr. James B. Rodgers;[21] Dr. Walter N.

Roberts, from the United Brethren mission;[22] and Elmer K. Higdon, ecumenical leader from the Disciples mission. In 1930 Higdon stated: "It is the consensus of opinion among Christians of other denominations, both Filipinos and Americans, that the Methodist denominational consciousness is the chief drawback to a united Church in the Philippines."[23]

Reasons for Not Joining the United Evangelical Church

Concrete evidence of the change of Methodist attitude toward church union may be seen by comparing the positive statements in favor of union prior to 1920 with the reasons given later for remaining out of the United Evangelical church. At the Annual Conference of 1929 the Methodist position was stated. The desire to continue to co-operate through the Federation of Christian Churches was reaffirmed. Comity agreements, a united program of publications, a common hymnal, and close co-operation in evangelism and religious education were all encouraged. At the same time, it was held to be unnecessary for the Methodist church to unite organically with other bodies. No theological reasons were given, but it was stated that it would be difficult to adjust Methodist polity and program to such a radical change. It was stated, in addition, that the people had little desire for union and that such a merger would jeopardize Methodist self-support, an area in which Methodism had led. Finally, it was held that a Filipino church was not "a big enough dream" in comparison with the idea of an international, interracial world Methodist church.[24]

Earlier that same year a missionary had objected to the United Church of Christ on theological grounds. He said that the proposed creed of the United Church of Christ was too conservative and even fundamentalist for Methodists to accept.[25] Further Methodist opinion was stated several years later after the merger had taken place. The United Evangelical church, as we have seen, had been proclaimed as the logical fulfilment of the dream for a *Filipino* church, indigenous to the life and needs of the nation. In 1933 one of the leading Methodist pastors, Francisco S. Galvez, cautioned of "the danger of too much emphasis upon race and nationalism in any branch of the Church of Christ," for, he said, "we need

Christianized nationalism, but we also need internationalized Christianity." As a result, the Rev. Mr. Galvez stated that the rank and file of Methodists did not want union. Instead they preferred their own Central Conference that had Filipino bishops and yet was an integral part of the world Methodist church.[26]

This latter reason—which has come to be used recurrently by Filipino Methodists in opposing church union—has especially strong appeal in a land like the Philippines where the adherents of the Roman Catholic church are in such a majority. Filipino Methodists find a great deal of satisfaction in being part of a world church of many millions of members.

Much of this same reasoning continues to be prevalent among Filipino Methodists to the present day. Various reasons are given for Methodist opposition to church union, but most frequently the reason has something to do with the great value of being a part of world Methodism. An excellent summary of the prevailing Methodist view was made in 1948 by Bishop Dionisio Alejandro when he said:

> This is the issue that you must decide: join a national Church and lose your vital connection with the world-wide movement or remain an integral part of a world Church allowing you local autonomy and freedom of relationship with other evangelical bodies here and abroad. For you must remember that Central Conference legislation is precisely aimed to solve the problem of relationship between the American Church and the Methodist Churches scattered all over the world, seeking a world unity but allowing diversities of operation due to racial and national characteristics and differences.[27]

Philippine Methodism has chosen not to unite with the merging churches in the islands but has continued to pursue its own course under the General Conference of American Methodism.

Methodism and Philippine Nationalism

The great political drive of Philippine nationalism in years past was for national independence. Its great concern with respect to the Philippine churches has been that they be self-directing. The approach of the Methodist church to these concerns of Philippine nationalism has been neither the generally negative response of

Roman Catholicism nor the consuming interest of Aglipayanism. Rather, it has, on the whole, paralleled the generally positive approach of the United Church of Christ and its predecessors, though with some distinctive differences.

Nationalistic Unrest of the Early Years

The first Methodist workers, like the other Protestant missionaries, had to contend with a great deal of natural resentment on the part of the Filipinos. America was the enemy with whom the Philippines had been at war; therefore, American missionaries were looked upon with some suspicion at first. It was not known whether or not the religion of the new white masters would be as oppressive as that of the old. In time, however, as we have seen, these initial fears were lessened and the Protestant work advanced.

Nonetheless, there remained in the early years of this century a great deal of nationalistic unrest. The Philippines had lost its war with America, but this had not stopped Filipino agitation for independence. Many had hoped that the American occupation would last only a brief period, after which independence would be granted. These hopes were, however, short-lived. It soon became apparent that full political freedom would not come for many years, because the United States believed that the Philippines was not yet ready for independence.

From 1898 until 1901 there was military rule over the country. Then, in 1901, the municipalities were placed in the hands of elected officials and partial autonomy was given to the provincial governments. In 1907 a popularly elected lower house, known as the Philippine Assembly, was granted, and in 1913 the upper house, known as the Philippine Commission, came to have a majority of Filipino members for the first time. In 1916 the Jones Law abolished the commission and replaced it with an elective Senate. Thus, by 1916, legislation was almost completely in Filipino hands, although such high officials as the governor-general and the Supreme Court justices were still appointed by the President of the United States. Finally, in 1935, the Philippine Commonwealth officially came into existence.[28] Looking back on this process today with the calm, dispassionate eye of history, this seems to have been an order-

ly, and even admirable, development. But to have lived *through* that process with the fiery blood of nationalism pulsating through one's veins must have seemed an agonizingly bitter experience. After all, had not the Philippines been proclaimed as the first republic in all of Asia after independence from Spain? Had not the Philippines produced, through men like Rizal and Mabini, magnificent evidence of the fact that she was indeed ready for independence? Had she not been moved by the great liberal tradition of the nineteenth century that held high the torch of liberty? And if all these things were true, then why must the Philippines wait decades more for her independence?

With such questions arising in the hearts of the Philippine nationalists, it is not surprising that the Protestant missionaries from America would be confronted with some degree of nationalistic unrest. That this was true has already been observed in the 1913 schism from the Presbyterian mission. In the Methodist mission, the unrest became apparent even earlier.

Tension Between the Mission and American Methodism

In 1900 the Methodist work was organized as the Philippine Islands District of the Malaysia Conference. It grew so rapidly that by 1905 it was reorganized as the Philippine Islands Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church of Southern Asia. Then in March, 1908, as a result of its continuing growth and development, the Philippine Islands Mission Conference became the Philippine Islands Annual Conference.[29]

In the light of later developments, a most significant memorial was sent in 1908 to the General Conference, meeting in May of that year, regarding the future status of work in the Philippines. The text of the memorial was as follows:

> We, the Philippine Islands Mission Conference, . . . after careful and prayerful consideration do hereby declare that because of the distance from the homeland, the uncertain tenure of our government here, and the character of the work we are called upon to do among these people, it will be to the best interests of the cause that the Philippine work continue to be administered as a *foreign* field, and
>
> That any attempt to change our present status to that of a *home*

field, might be construed by the people as inimical to the cause of independence, which is dear to the heart of every Filipino, and would thus work great harm to the progress of our cause in these Islands.

We therefore petition the General Conference to permit us to remain in our present status.[30] [Italics mine.]

This memorial came out of the missionaries' awareness of Filipino desires for independence and Filipino resentment toward anything that suggested the perpetuation of colonialism in the islands. There was fear that the strong nationalistic sentiments of the Filipinos might break loose at the slightest provocation. This indeed is what actually occurred in 1909.

The General Conference did not act on the memorial from the Philippines, but neither did it take any action changing the status of the work in the Philippines to that of a home field, which had been the concern of the memorial.[31] Nonetheless, it had become clear that Methodism in the islands, now an Annual Conference, was *not* developing in the direction of independent, or autonomous, status; it was rather becoming a still more integral part of the Methodist church in the United States. This fact was hard for some nationalistic Filipino Methodists to accept; thus it was that the Zamorista schism from the Methodist church began to take shape.

The Zamorista Schism

Nicolas Zamora has previously been referred to as the first ordained Protestant minister in the Philippines. An awareness of his nationalistic background is important in order that his role in leading the first defection from Philippine Methodism may be thoroughly understood.

BACKGROUND OF NICOLAS ZAMORA[32]

Nicolas Zamora came from a family whose name was dear to all Filipino nationalists. His great uncle was the famous priest, Father Jacinto Zamora, who, along with Fathers José Burgos and Mariano Gomez, became the first martyrs of the prerevolutionary era. It will be recalled that they were killed in 1872 by the colonial authorities at the instigation of the Spanish friars. This cruel act of injustice deeply embittered the Zamora family against the foreign

religious orders. Later the nephew of Father Zamora, Paulino, disregarded the authority of the Roman church by paying a sea captain to smuggle a Spanish Bible into Manila for him. He invited his neighbors to study the Bible with him, but eventually his independent religious activities were discovered, and he was thrown into prison. Later he was banished to an island in the Mediterranean Sea and was not released until the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1898.[33]

While Paulino was in prison, his son, Nicolas, a student preparing for law or the priesthood, also obtained a Bible, and his reading of it caused him to question his traditional faith. During the Revolution, Nicolas joined the insurgents and became a lieutenant colonel under the appointment of Marcelo del Pilar.[34]

When Bishop Thoburn held evangelistic services in the islands in 1899, in attendance were Nicolas Zamora and his father, just returned home from exile. It was during these services that Nicolas had his first opportunities to preach, and by 1900 he was ordained in the ministry. In the subsequent years he developed into the most outstanding Filipino preacher and was a spearhead of much of the Methodist advance. Zamora became a general evangelist, as well as pastor of Methodism's large downtown congregation in Manila, which today is called Knox Memorial Church. In 1903 Zamora was received into full membership in the Annual Conference.[35]

CONFLICT AND DEFECTION

In 1906 the Rev. Mr. Zamora was sent to the Tondo area of Manila where there was a great deal of unrest in the church. Many of the Methodists there had wanted to separate from the Methodist church and begin an independent church. They established a religio-patriotic society called *Katotohanan* (the Tagalog word for "truth"), which advocated religious and political self-determination. Their slogan was, "While God has given other nations the right to serve and administer the religious life of their people, the Filipinos were also endowed by the divine Providence with the same right."[36] Zamora at first was able to calm down the unrest of the church members and did much to build up the work in the Tondo Circuit.[37]

Eventually, however, the members of the *Katotohanan* began

to win Zamora over to their cause, especially after 1908, when the Methodist Mission Conference was changed to Annual Conference status. This development of Philippine Methodism was clearly within the structure of the American church and not in the direction of the autonomous church the nationalists desired. There were other factors involved as well. There had long been some degree of conflict between Zamora and the missionaries. The reasons for this conflict included personality differences, Zamora's strong nationalism, missionary paternalism, and a controversy over Zamora's ministerial ethics. Zamora had long been unhappy over what he considered the slow rate of self-determination in the affairs of the mission. He and the other Filipino pastors had been allowed to serve on some of the conference committees, but the actual leadership and decision-making was in the hands of the missionaries. This situation was agitated by some of the missionary attitudes. It is reported, for example, that at one of the Bible institutes Zamora overheard a missionary say, "The Filipinos will never become good pastors."[38] Another missionary wrote during this period, "The Filipinos, for all their veneer, are primitive and childlike."[39] In the same article this missionary said that the trouble with Zamora was in part due to some visiting Americans in the Philippines who had been talking about the independence of the islands![40] William F. Oldham, the missionary bishop at that time, said:

> There is . . . amongst the Tagalog . . . a strong desire to assert themselves as not needing either tutelage or direction. This feeling in itself is praiseworthy; but there is mingled with it a certain lack of judgment, a headiness and a touch of arrogance that the present ability to manage affairs scarcely warrants.[41]

Such generalizations were naturally offensive to nationalists like Zamora.

The defection was actually precipitated, however, when a district superintendent called Zamora's attention to an irregular marriage Zamora had solemnized. Zamora was believed not only to be charging exorbitant marriage fees but to be performing ceremonies under questionable circumstances, such as when minors married without consent. Zamora had been reminded a number of

times of the church's attitude toward such practices. Finally, at the questioning of a district superintendent in 1909, Zamora became extremely angry and announced that he was withdrawing from the Methodist church.[42]

On February 28, 1909, Zamora, speaking before a congregation of several hundred at St. Paul's Methodist Church in Tondo, declared complete renunciation of all foreign control and the establishment of La Iglesia Evangelica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas.[43] A short time later, Zamora said in one of his sermons: "It is the will of God for the Filipino nation that the Evangelical Church in the Philippines be established which will proclaim the Holy Scriptures through the leadership of its countrymen."[44]

The Iglesia Evangelica Metodista, or the "Iemelif" as it is called today,[45] spread mostly among the Tagalogs in the Manila area. Four of the nine conference members that were Filipinos and one-fifth of the local preachers (25 out of 121) went with Zamora. In the first year, about 1,500 out of the total of 30,000 Methodists in the Manila District joined the schism.[46] It is significant that "not a Bible woman, a deaconess, or a young person trained in the public schools and able to speak English . . . [was] drawn into the new organization."[47] The movement, therefore, was largely confined to the older Tagalogs who had been nurtured during the height of the revolutionary era. The younger generation was more moderate in its outlook and more accepting of the American colonial period.

Zamora served as general superintendent of the Iemelif church until his life was tragically cut short during a cholera outbreak in 1914.[48] His movement was firmly planted, however, and the church grew to become one of the largest of a number of small, completely independent Protestant churches. By 1961 it had 37 churches, 60 full-time ministers, 37 women workers, and a constituency of 15,000.[49] It has been hampered by a lack of seminary-trained ministers and adequate resources to develop a vigorous church life.

Although the Zamorista schism did not attract sufficient numbers to impede very seriously the growth of the Methodist church, it nonetheless gave strong evidence of the continuing nationalistic feelings of many Filipinos. While nationalism was not the only

factor in the schism, the role it played should not be minimized, and one can readily recognize similarities between the Zamorista movement and the Aglipayan movement.

Methodist Connectionalism and National Aspirations

Despite the feelings of nationalists like Nicolas Zamora, the Methodist church in the Philippines was deliberately moving forward toward complete indigenous leadership. While the rate was not fast enough in the eyes of Zamora and his followers, indigenization of leadership in the Methodist mission was a great deal faster than in the Roman Catholic mission, which, after several centuries in the islands, was still under foreign direction. Except for the top executive position, the Methodist advance toward self-leadership compared favorably with the rate in the uniting churches. The difference in the two Protestant approaches was largely due to the connectional ties of the Methodist mission with the General Conference.

THE PROGRESSIVE INDIGENIZATION OF LEADERSHIP

Work of the Methodist church began under the bishop of the Southern Asia Central Conference and was supervised locally under missionary district superintendents. As the work rapidly spread, the General Conference was petitioned to send a resident bishop to supervise the Philippine work. Finally, after ten years of effort and petitioning by the mission in the Philippines, the General Conference of 1912 granted the request, and Bishop William Eveland became the first resident bishop of Methodism in the Philippines.[50]

By 1914 there were five districts into which the work was divided, each district being under a missionary superintendent. With the Annual Conference of 1915, however, two new districts were added; and with this addition, the new districts were placed under the first Filipino district superintendents—Catalino Santos in the Bataan District and Lorenzo Tamayo in the Paniqui District.[51]

In 1926 the Annual Conference went on record as favoring a fully indigenous church. It stipulated that this would become a reality only if self-leadership, self-support, and self-propagation

were fully accepted by the entire church.[52] It should be noted that the conference was speaking of an indigenous church in terms of self-direction. The fuller meaning of "indigenous" that would include such areas as theology and worship was not included in the consideration. Further, it should be noted that it was evidently felt by the Annual Conference delegates, although not explicitly stated, that self-direction could be fully expressed within the General Conference structure. In political terms one might say that the Methodist ideal has been like "commonwealth" status, rather than that of complete independence.

As an organic part of the General Conference, the Philippine Islands Annual Conference each four years sent delegates to the General Conference. There it represented Philippine Methodism and took part in the deliberations. Missionaries were elected to represent Philippine Methodism until 1920. At that time Dr. Andres Pascual was sent as a lay delegate to the General Conference. Then in 1924 the Rev. Mr. Dionisio D. Alejandro was elected as the first Filipino ministerial delegate. Since 1920, therefore, Filipino Methodists have always been present at the General Conference to represent their church.

The next significant milestone was reached in 1932. At that time the twenty-fifth Philippine Islands Annual Conference met at Knox Memorial Church in Manila. With the reading of the appointments, the Rev. Mr. B. O. Peterson was replaced as the last missionary district superintendent, an event which marked the beginning of all districts' being under Filipino superintendency.[53]

In 1935 the Philippine Islands Annual Conference, meeting at Central Students' Church in Manila, was divided into the Philippines Annual Conference and the Philippines North Annual Conference.[54] Then in 1936 the General Conference was memorialized for the Philippines to have its own Central Conference under a Filipino bishop.[55]

This was the period immediately preceding the union in America of the Methodist Episcopal church; the Methodist Episcopal church, South; and the Methodist Protestant church. At the first General Conference to meet after union, in 1940, the Enabling Act was passed which cleared the way for the election of Filipinos

to the episcopacy. In 1944 Dr. Dionisio Alejandro was elected as the first Filipino Methodist bishop.[56]

The election of 1944, therefore, completed the indigenization of Philippine Methodism in terms of leadership from the local church to the episcopacy. The small number of missionaries were working in such areas as medical and educational institutions and church extension. Their contributions were still needed and welcomed, but there was no doubt that Methodism was firmly planted in the Philippines and was moving forward under Filipino guidance.

At the same time, the difference between the complete autonomy possessed by the United Church of Christ and the limited autonomy possessed by the Methodist church in the Philippines should be noted. The autonomy of Philippine Methodism is within its organic relationship to the Methodist church in the United States. Whereas the United Church of Christ in the Philippines is a member of the East Asia Christian Conference and the World Council of Churches, the Philippines Central Conference itself cannot be a member of these organizations; rather it is related to these ecumenical bodies by virtue of the membership of the Methodist church, of which the Philippines Central Conference is a part. The same membership relation even holds true in regard to the World Methodist Council, to which the Philippines Central Conference is related through the Methodist church in the United States. Within the Central Conference itself, a great deal of autonomy is held; the Central Conference has much more power than the Jurisdictional Conference in the Methodist church. The degree of autonomy and power granted to the Central Conference is, of course, determined by the General Conference.[57]

An interesting aspect of this relationship with the wider Methodist community occurred during the Central Conference of 1964. At the conference, elections for the two episcopal areas were held. Bishop Jose L. Valencia was re-elected as one of the two bishops. But in voting to replace retiring Bishop D. D. Alejandro, the Central Conference was almost evenly divided between Dr. Fidel P. Galang and Dr. Benjamin I. Guansing. Indeed, the conference remained deadlocked for fifty-one ballots, with neither man

getting enough votes for election. Finally, to resolve the issue the conference appealed to the Council of Bishops of the Methodist church to appoint one of its members to serve Philippine Methodism. In answer to this request, the Council of Bishops appointed Bishop Shot K. Mondol of India. Bishop Mondol served the Manila Area until 1967, when Dr. Guansing was elected bishop on the third ballot in a special session of the Central Conference.

ATTITUDE TOWARD NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The desire of Filipinos for national independence was strong from the beginning of American rule. This desire made itself known in the church periodically, as in the adverse reaction to the General Conference decision of 1908 to make the Philippines mission into an Annual Conference. Nationalists like Zamora saw this as an affront to Filipino hopes for political independence, because it appeared that the American church had begun thinking of the Philippines as a long-term possession of the United States. We have noted that the missionaries in the field greatly sympathized with this feeling of the Filipinos.

The relationship to the American church continued to cause some embarrassment for Methodist work in the Philippines. The reasons for this embarrassment and the way in which the situation should be handled were dealt with by the Philippines Annual Conference in 1914. At that time the conference passed the following resolution, proposed by Gregorio Curameng:

> Whereas, certain leaders of our own and other Protestant Churches have made public declarations in the United States concerning the present political situation in the Philippines, which have been printed and commented on by the Manila Press in such a way as to produce a feeling of indignation among the Filipinos, who have not considered the good intent of these declarations, and have caused the enemies of the Gospel to hold evil opinions of both American and Filipino pastors, branding the latter as anti-Filipino and traitors to their own country; and
>
> Whereas, these declarations have caused some members of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches to separate themselves from those whom they consider as oppressors of the hopes of the Filipino people; and
>
> Whereas, such declarations not only have caused a separation of some members, but have also stopped the progress of the Gospel and have been

used by the enemies of the Gospel as a powerful means to overturn the work of our beloved Methodist Church during the last fifteen years;

Therefore, be it resolved, that we ask our beloved Bishop Eveland to make known to the Ministers of our Church in the United States that by the love which they bear to their brethren here in the Philippines, they refrain from speaking publicly either in favor or against the independence of the Philippine Islands.[58]

The Annual Conference delegates evidently believed that it would be better for ministers in America not to talk about the Philippine political situation at all, rather than to have some speaking for and some against independence. Considering the Filipinos' strong feelings for independence, the restraint of the resolution is rather surprising.

At the same Annual Conference of 1914, District Superintendent Marvin I. Rader reported that the past year had been one of "extreme agitation" for independence from the United States but that, despite the inaction of America on this matter, the relationship between Filipino Methodists and the missionaries had remained "cordial." He also noted, however, that the agitation had made the missionaries' work more difficult and that suspicion of the missionaries had increased.[59]

In 1922 the missionaries went on record as favoring the "national aspirations of the Filipino people" and declared their "hearty approval of every constructive effort of the Filipinos looking towards the realization of these national aspirations."[60] The missionaries made the same affirmation at the Annual Conference of 1926.[61] Then in 1930 a similar statement was sent to the United States Senate, in which the whole Annual Conference went on record as favoring political independence for the islands.[62]

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was proclaimed, the last stage before full independence. This came as a fulfilment of the fervent desires of Philippine Methodism, including the missionaries, for political freedom in the archipelago.

The 1933 Schism

At the Annual Conference held in San Nicolas, Pangasinan, in 1933, there occurred the second major split of Methodism in the

Philippines. This schism, like the one led by Nicolas Zamora, was to a significant degree determined by nationalistic feelings. The background of the later schism is, however, quite different.

In 1932 Melecio de Armas was expelled from the Methodist ministry on a charge of adultery. The expulsion had been ordered after the proper church authorities had carefully considered all the available evidence. However, de Armas appealed the decision, and the case was sent to the Appellant Committee of the General Conference. This committee likewise weighed the evidence carefully and judiciously; but, unlike the decision in the Philippines, the opinion it handed down stated that there was not sufficient evidence to prove the charges, and it ordered de Armas restored to his former status.

At the following Philippine Islands Annual Conference, the Rev. Mr. Cipriano Navarro raised the issue of the right of the General Conference to reverse the de Armas decision. Herbert Welch, the presiding bishop who had come from America for the 1933 session, ruled that there could be no further discussion of the case, as it was a closed matter. He pointed out that the General Conference in Methodism "is not only our highest legislative body but also our Supreme Court, and is therefore the only judge of the legality of its own actions."[63]

This statement failed to satisfy Navarro and a number of others. Prior to the Annual Conference there had already been a certain amount of agitation among some Methodists who claimed that the missionary bishop at that time, Edwin F. Lee, was inefficient in his administrative responsibilities. The de Armas case reversal heightened the dissatisfaction, and Bishop Welch's statement only served to increase the aroused feelings of the dissenting faction. The day following Bishop Welch's first clarification of the General Conference relationship, Navarro announced that he was going to surrender his ministerial credentials; but then he added:

I am not going to give you these credentials, Bishop; they are too dear to me. But I offer this motion: "Whereas, the course of events has made it clear that connectionalism with the General Conference in America and supervision of our churches in the Philippines as provided by such Conference is no longer a source of true inspiration and wise leadership, I

therefore move that we here and now declare ourselves independent from the American General Conference."[64]

Bishop Welch declared that the motion was out of order, but Navarro called for all who approved to say so. A number responded, but Bishop Welch said that the group had no more right to declare itself independent from the Methodist church than had the Philippines to declare its independence from the United States. Then said Bishop Welch:

A motion followed for another adjournment, which I declined to entertain, on the ground that it was simply a dilatory motion, intended to impede the work of the Conference. I added, "The Conference will go on with its work. If there are any who do not wish to share in that work, they are at liberty to withdraw"; whereupon about thirty members of the Conference, accompanied by some others present, withdrew from the room.[65]

At that time, Dr. Jorge Bocobo, layman and the then Dean of the College of Law at the University of the Philippines, said that if the church was to have any stability and order, it would have to abide by the decision of the General Conference.[66] Most agreed with him in that conviction. However, those who did not—twenty-seven ordained ministers, five American missionaries, and some deaconesses and Bible women—left the Conference, held a meeting of their own, and organized "The Philippine Methodist Church," which had as its purpose "preaching Methodism free from the control of the mother church in the United States."[67]

By 1941 the new Methodist body had 87 congregations, 64 pastors, 34 women workers, 107 lay preachers, and a constituency of 12,000.[68] In 1948 the Philippine Methodist church became one of the founding churches of the United Church of Christ, and Cipriano Navarro was elected as one of the bishops of the new United Church.

Bishop Welch stated shortly after the 1933 Annual Conference that the whole approach of the dissenters had been wrong. They could, he said, have appealed to the General Conference for another review of the de Armas case. Then, if the church was still

dissatisfied to the point of wanting complete autonomy, the church in America would accept it and continue support as it has done in other countries. But the bishop stressed the point that all of this would have to be done through regular procedures in order to be legal.[69]

Nonetheless, it is important that the recurring conflict with nationalism be held in the perspective of the whole sweep of Philippine church history. The 1933 schism, like the Zamorista schism, was largely the result of a conflict between the church in the Philippines and the church in America and its representatives. The rise of the Philippine Methodist church grew out of a deeper issue than dissatisfaction over a particular ecclesiastical ruling. The real issue was self-determination of Filipino Christians in their religious affairs. This was the same issue that had led to the Aglipayan movement, and in each case foreign religious leaders had tragically underestimated its importance.

Two Issues of the War Years

The Japanese period in the Philippines brought pressures upon the churches to do away completely with any semblance of American influence and to unite into a single church.

Indigenous Church Leadership

Soon after the Japanese came, a Military Proclamation was issued stating that the head of each church had to be a Filipino. Under insistent pressure from the Japanese, the district superintendents and the executive council of the Philippines Central Conference met on October 16, 1942, and elected Francisco Galvez, Manila district superintendent, as "Acting Head." The Japanese were not satisfied, however, that his position was only "acting," and they continued to exert pressure upon the Methodist leaders. Finally, on April 30, 1943, the Methodist church designated him as "General Superintendent."[70] It was on this occasion that Philippine Methodism came under the leadership of a Filipino for the first time.

The Japanese were still concerned over the lack of co-operation they were receiving from the Methodists, who were trying to abide

strictly by the provisions of the General Conference. The General Conference had authorized the election of a Filipino bishop, but not until 1944, the date of the next Central Conference. Pressure from the Japanese continued, but it was not effective in getting the Methodists to elect a bishop before 1944. In that year the Central Conference was finally held, and Dionisio Alejandro was elected. As no bishop was present, there was no laying on of hands. It was decided, instead, that Alejandro would be considered "bishop-elect" until after the close of the war, at which time he could be properly consecrated according to the rules of the Methodist church.[71] Nonetheless, the 1944 election brought an end to the leadership of American bishops in Philippine Methodism.

Church Union

The Japanese sought to force the merger of all the Protestant churches. At the Central Conference of 1944, Japanese observers and Filipinos of other denominations tried to convince the Methodists of the desirability of merger. The conference, however, was able to avoid having to make a decision on this issue on the grounds that, according to Methodist procedure, it was the Annual Conferences rather than the Central Conference which were the bodies legally constituted to decide on such matters.[72]

Before the Annual Conferences met, the Evangelical church in the Philippines was, as we have seen, formed by the merger of a number of Evangelical bodies. The subsequent meetings of the Methodist Annual Conferences, however, did not accept the plan of union, and the issue was settled as far as Philippine Methodism was concerned. The Japanese, with the war beginning to go against them, ceased to press for the inclusion of the Methodists in church union.[73] Philippine Methodism, therefore, was quite effective in resisting pressure from the occupying power during the war. It was aided by loyalty to proper procedures and by its keeping of the requirements of the General Conference.

Postwar Developments

Since the end of World War II, Philippine Methodism, in a number of its aspects, has achieved a great deal of advancement and expansion.

Outreach

One indication of the inner vitality and strength of a church is its evangelistic outreach not only toward its immediate neighbors, but also toward those at a distance. Such outreach, or self-propagation, is one of the effective criteria for testing whether or not the church is vital and "at home" among the people it has reached. In this regard, Philippine Methodism measures up well.

The area of most significant new growth has been on the island of Mindanao, the great frontier in the nation today. This island was opened up to heavy settlement by the government as its answer to the Communist-inspired Hukbalahap rebellion. This rebellion collapsed as thousands of poverty-stricken tenant farmers of Luzon were given homesteads in Mindanao. Some of these farmers were Methodists, and, as their numbers grew, the Methodist church decided to begin work in the area. This new home mission has spread rapidly since 1952, so that by 1960 there were 54 churches and 2,735 members in the Mindanao Provisional Annual Conference.[74]

The Manila District has begun home mission work in southern Luzon, Masbate, Mindoro, Romblon, Panay, and Palawan. This development is significant because the district itself initiated the work and has increasingly sent Filipino personnel and funds into the area.

In 1956 the Methodist Board of Missions in the Philippines was organized in response to the call from other countries for missionaries. A young woman was sent to Okinawa, supported by the women and youth of the church. Nurses have been sent to serve in Christ Hospital in Sarawak, and a doctor and his wife were sent to the Methodist Clinic in Sitiawan, Malaya. By 1963 a total of seventeen Filipino missionaries had been sent overseas by the Board of Missions of Philippine Methodism. Schools of Missions were being held in districts and conferences throughout the church under Boards of Missions in the Annual Conferences. Although much of the financial support for this total program comes from abroad, local interest and giving to missions has greatly increased in recent years.[75]

Nation-building

Philippine Methodism has made a vital ethical witness that is crucial to the task of nation-building. Methodists are expected to bear the fruits of righteousness in their lives and to be of service to their fellow man. From Methodist ranks have arisen large numbers of outstanding men and women of integrity and leadership ability who have contributed to the national life in significant ways. A representative listing of such individuals, past and present, could include Jorge Bocobo, president of the University of the Philippines and Supreme Court justice; Juan Rodriquez, governor of the province of Pangasinan and Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources; Ascuncion Perez, Administrator of Social Welfare under President Quirino; José Luna Castro, managing editor of the *Manila Times*; Cicero Calderon, director of the Labor Education Center of the Philippine Government and president of Silliman University; Melquiades Gamboa, Ambassador to Great Britain; A. Caesar Espiritu, one of the nation's leading economists; and Eliseo Pajaro, one of the nation's outstanding musical composers.

Institutions of the Methodist church are also making a vital contribution to the developing Philippine democracy. A number of schools, an outstanding orphanage, a fine hospital, and several mobile medical and dental clinics all make an important contribution to the nation. The Methodist Social Center does a great deal to rescue and rehabilitate individuals being crushed in the sprawling city of Manila. Its varied program includes such things as a mental health clinic; classes in homemaking, child care, and arts and crafts; student work; and a daily kindergarten for children of working mothers. There are two Methodist Rural Centers which teach better methods of farming and of raising livestock and poultry. Health and sanitation, home and family life improvement, and community development are taught. The work of these two centers goes hand in hand with the Social Welfare and Social Education Commission of the National Council of Churches.

There have been a number of occasions when local churches and districts have dealt with specific social needs. Work camps among the young people are held quite frequently, and local

churches often contribute to community development programs. A concrete example of a district project was given in the report of Pampanga District Superintendent Fidel Galang in 1956. Dr. Galang, who had served in the Hukbalahap rebellion until it was discovered to be Communist-led, well understands the role of the church in helping bring about creative social change.[76] As a district superintendent, he helped to organize "community evangelistic services," such as one held in a barrio of San Luis, Pampanga. A team of twenty-five pastors, a missionary, a deaconess, and lay helpers worked with people in the barrio for a week. Muddy water was drained from around the two artesian wells; the streets were cleaned; a doctor lectured on health and sanitation; a veterinarian advised the people on better care of farm animals; and an agriculturist gave lectures on crop management. Evangelistic services each evening concluded the daily programs.[77]

It should be said, however, that most of the church's ethical witness has been on an individualistic basis. Philippine Methodism has lacked a deep concern for social justice, and it has not thought through its role in nation-building. A beginning in this direction was made as commissions and boards of Christian Social Concerns were organized throughout the church in 1960. These can serve very effectively to inform and deepen the church's social vision. This effectiveness will be heightened if it develops in co-ordination with similar efforts in the United Church of Christ and the National Council of Churches.

World Methodism

A final word should be said regarding the present ecumenical awareness of Philippine Methodism. The Methodist church in the Philippines is firmly committed to co-operative endeavor and sees itself as a part of the world Christian community. This ecumenical involvement, however, comes from within the context of world Methodism. A good illustration of this is seen in the 1960 Episcopal Address at the Central Conference. The title of Bishop Valencia's address was, "We Belong to a World Church," and the title of the address served as the beginning of twenty of the first thirty-seven paragraphs of the message.[78]

It has been the consensus of most Filipino Methodists that their interests and needs are well served by their present relationship to the Methodist church in the United States. They point to the fact that Philippine Methodism is strong and vigorous. They emphasize that it is under Filipino leadership from the local church to the episcopacy and that it has a large degree of autonomy. Filipino Methodists also point to their record of self-support and their program of self-propagation. Finally, they feel that their being a vital part of world Methodism (through their relationship to American Methodism) is of more significance and brings more advantages than would their becoming an organic part of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines. One advantage is their sense of intimate kinship with the Wesleyan spiritual heritage. Another is the strength of Methodist polity and programming. Still other advantages include such things as ample lay and clerical representation at the General Conference and salary and travel subsidies. At the same time, it should be candidly admitted that there is another significant factor lessening the interest of Philippine Methodists in church union. Certain personal conflicts between some of the leaders of the Methodist church and of the United Church of Christ, including differences which can be traced back to the war years, have seriously set back the ecumenical movement in the islands.

Despite what has been written in this chapter, the relationship of Philippine Methodism to the American church is now undergoing serious re-examination. Although the general feeling continues to favor more or less the present relationship, there is increasing interest in the possibility of an autonomous Methodist church in the Philippines which would still retain fraternal relations with world Methodism. As a result, during the 1964-68 quadrennium, a church-wide study is considering this whole question in the light of present-day needs. This study was given impetus by the General Conference of 1964, at which time Methodist churches in five other countries (Indonesia, Liberia, Cuba, Burma, and Pakistan) requested and were granted permission to become autonomous. One important issue being considered in the study is whether autonomy would be a move into denominational isolation on a national basis,

or whether it would be a step toward organic union with other Protestant bodies, especially the United Church of Christ in the Philippines.

A History of Contrasts

The history of Philippine Methodism, that of a church rapid in growth, quick to build strong Filipino leadership and to become self-supporting, and yet slow to become independent from the American church and to examine its confessional tradition in the light of national needs, may be summarized in the framework of our five norms, somewhat as follows:

1. Methodism, along with the other Protestant groups, brought to the Philippines the Evangelical interpretation of the Christian faith as a universal gospel. Christianity was presented as a heartfelt religion that was practical and relevant to daily living. The response of a substantial number of Filipinos to this message resulted in the extension of Christian influence in the lives of individuals and into society.

2. The Methodist church is indigenous to the Philippines insofar as it has become a vigorous church under capable Filipino leadership and with a good record of self-support and self-propagation. In the life, thought, and artistic expression of the church, however, there has been scarcely any adaptation to the Philippine setting.

3. Philippine Methodism has not been a captive of nationalism, even though it has generally affirmed the nationalistic goals of political independence and development and of religious self-determination. The organic relationship of Philippine Methodism to the Methodist church in the United States has resulted in occasional conflicts with Philippine nationalism, which on two occasions led to schism.

4. Philippine Methodism has, from its beginning, been a vital part of the world Methodist movement and, to a lesser extent, the world Christian community. It has long had a strong missionary consciousness and in recent years has greatly strengthened its mission program both nationally and abroad.

5. Philippine Methodism has contributed to the task of na-

tion-building mainly by producing civic-minded members, a number of whom have been outstanding leaders in various fields. It also has a number of significant institutions that contribute in a variety of ways to the nation. In addition, in recent years there has been a growing awareness of the social responsibility of the church to the nation.

CONCLUSION

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AS WE HAVE DISCUSSED the history of the various Christian churches in the Philippines and their relationships to modern nationalism, four principal conclusions have emerged:

1. The response of the Roman Catholic church to Philippine nationalism has been a generally negative one that has left that church to a large extent under alien control.

2. In the Philippine Independent church we see the danger of the church's being absorbed within a culture and of nationalism's becoming the directive and determinative force behind the presentation of the gospel.

3. The response of the United Church of Christ to Philippine nationalism has been more balanced. This church has consistently sought to build a self-determining Evangelical church within the context of the world Christian community.

4. The Methodist church in the Philippines has shown a generally positive response to nationalism as it has followed the prevalent Protestant objective of building a self-determining church. The organic relationship of Philippine Methodism to American Methodism has, however, led to certain conflicts with Philippine nationalism.

In addition to these four principal conclusions certain other conclusions should be pointed out, namely:

The type of influence exerted by nationalism upon the churches, ranging from prolonged conflict (as in the Roman Catholic

church) to accommodation of the gospel to nationalistic aims (as in the Philippine Independent church) has been determined by such factors as the attitudes, goals, and power of foreign missionaries; the autonomy of the church; the degree of self-leadership in the church; the presence or absence of foreign missionaries; and the type of relationship with churches in other countries.

Generally speaking, Philippine nationalism has not shown hostility to Christianity. It has, however, been in conflict with those practices in the churches which discriminate against Filipino religious leaders and which impede the self-determination of Filipinos.

There is growing harmony between Philippine nationalism and each of the four churches we have surveyed. This harmony has increased as self-determination in the religious institutions has been present or has increased; hence, it has been strongest in the Independent church and weakest in the Roman Catholic church. Even in the case of Roman Catholicism, however, conflict with Philippine nationalism has been decreasing as self-leadership has increased in recent decades.

The probability of future conflict between Philippine nationalism and the churches will remain greatest in those situations where self-determination is limited, i.e., in Roman Catholicism and, to a much smaller degree, in Philippine Methodism.

The unwavering purpose of the Protestant missions to build an indigenous church in the Philippines and their general sympathy with the nationalistic aspirations of the Filipino people demonstrate the possibility of foreign missionaries' planting the church among a highly nationalistic people and being able to continue serving in the church as it becomes self-led.

The rapid rise and the strength of Filipino leadership in the Protestant churches demonstrate the capabilities of the Filipinos that have emerged as they have been given the opportunity and training for directing their own religious institutions.

The tension between Methodism and Philippine nationalism brings into serious question the wisdom of the Philippine Methodist church's remaining an organic part of the distant and vastly larger American Methodist church. As a matter of fact, this very

issue is now being carefully studied in Philippine Methodism. The indications are that this rethinking will eventually lead toward a modified connectional structure that will be more expressive of a mature and independent church-to-church relationship. On the basis of the Philippine experience, we may conclude that the organic unity of Philippine Methodism with other Protestant groups in the islands would strengthen the Evangelical witness in the nation and would avoid unnecessary conflicts with nationalism by removing any sign of foreign religious domination. Denominational autonomy, on the other hand, might serve to isolate Methodism from the mainstream of ecumenical developments in the islands and hamper its effectiveness in contributing to the demanding task of nation-building.

The continued presence of foreign missionaries and the participation of the Philippine churches in the worldwide ecumenical movement demonstrate the great value of these wider relationships in preventing the churches from being absorbed in nationalistic concerns. Such relationships provide a needed international dimension within the life of the churches that dramatically illustrates the universal aspect of the Christian faith. An opposite danger emerges, however, when this international influence becomes more than an important presence and is manifested rather as a highly dominant force in the overall life of a church. This we have seen in Philippine Catholicism, where foreign domination and direction over the centuries have stifled the necessary indigenous development and leadership potential of the largest church body in Asia.

On the other hand, Philippine experience has shown that churches which try to be purely national and develop apart from church life and thought in other lands can also manifest serious weaknesses. Thus before World War II, during its highly nationalistic phase of development, the Philippine Independent church suffered greatly from such things as a neglect of church life and an overinvolvement in politics, a lack of institutions, and an isolation from the mainstream of world Christianity. Without even one seminary, the poorly trained Independent priests had little opportunity for critical evaluation of their church's devotion to "religious Philippinism," nor did they develop a mission suited to the

demands of a changing social order. Nationalism as a gospel proved to be a woefully inadequate substitute for the full breadth of the Christian faith. To a less critical degree, a similar judgment can be made with regard to the Iemelif church, the first nationalistic offshoot of Philippine Methodism. Foreign resources and stimulation could have done much to alleviate for that church the effects of its isolation and its lack of an adequately trained ministry.

It should further be noted that the general lack of indigenous developments in the Philippine churches in such areas as theology, art, and music indicates that achievements of self-leadership, self-support, and self-propagation, while very significant, are not in themselves adequate indicators of whether or not the gospel has fully taken root in the nation. The prevalent Western expressions of Philippine church life, Catholic and Protestant, point to the continued need for finding ways of expressing the full range of Christian life and thought within the cultural and national setting of the Philippines, even while maintaining international influences in the churches.

Postscript

At this point, a final word of caution about the dangers inherent in nationalism should be spoken. The moderate character of much of Philippine nationalism to date—with its reasonable goals of self-direction and self-realization in the churches—has led us to view it for the most part in a favorable light. Yet, any movement as powerful as nationalism—however noble its inception and however important its history—can be deflected from its original purpose and its ideals can be betrayed. Contemporary history is tragically full of such instances. Nationalists may succumb to the temptation to become hostile to or at least suspicious of other peoples and to glorify uncritically their own culture and their own achievements. They may become racist, manifesting a chauvinistic dislike of foreigners in general, and seek to develop in isolation from any alien influences. Nationalism may be used by the unscrupulous or the ambitious or the insecure to advance selfish interests at the expense of the wider interests of the church universal. It may be used as a weapon by those seeking power and

prestige to discredit and even to get rid of those of other lands who may have a genuine and significant contribution to make to the ongoing life of the national church.

But these are the perversions, not the necessary consequences, of nationalism. They can be avoided when healthy nationalism finds its natural and complementary fulfilment in internationalism. The mature, indigenous church is not the exclusive or the intolerant church. It is not the racially or culturally "pure" church, if indeed such is even a possibility. Rather it is that community which has found its distinctive selfhood within its own national and cultural setting but at the same time has blended into its life and thought the finest elements that have come to it from other nations and cultures. Such a church will become a vital part of the richly varied universal Christian fellowship, and it will be able to contribute greatly to the essential task of nation-building.

The churches of the Philippines can make just such a vital contribution. To a world of divisive ideologies and competing nationalist purposes, Philippine Christianity brings singular gifts and qualifications. The Philippines is Asian at heart, yet it has been deeply influenced by both Europe and America. It is the only Asian country a majority of whose population professes the Christian faith. The Philippines is the birthplace of modern nationalism in Asia, and it is a land where the roots of democracy run deep. In such a setting, Philippine Christianity can share with other peoples its unique and diverse heritage and the wisdom gained from the wide variety of responses by its churches to nationalism. Philippine Christianity can thus point the way for the churches of the newly independent nations to find creative, balanced roles in contributing to the task of nation-building, in participation in the world church, and in calling all men and nations to obedience to the righteous God of the universe.

NOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. M. A. C. Warren, "Nationalism as an International Asset," *International Review of Missions,* XLIV (October, 1955), 387.

2. Carlton J. H. Hayes, in *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1961), e.g., deals with "humanitarian nationalism," "Jacobin nationalism," "traditional nationalism," "liberal nationalism," and "integral nationalism."

3. See, e.g., Carlton Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1960) and Edward Shillito, *Nationalism: Man's Other Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1933).

4. Barbara Ward, *Five Ideas That Change the World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1959), pp. 25-28, 155 ff.

5. Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1955), p. 90.

6. M. M. Thomas, "Some Notes on a Christian Interpretation of Nationalism in Asia," *Witnesses Together: The Official Report of the Inaugural Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference, Kuala Lumpur, May 14-24, 1959* (Rangoon: East Asia Christian Conference, 1959), p. 43.

7. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., *Manila Chronicle,* March 5, 1960, p. 10.

8. Camilo Osias, "Nationalism and Internationalism," *Philippine Christian Advance,* October, 1958, p. 11.

9. Leon Ma. Guerrero, *Alternatives for Asians: The Philippine Experiment* (London: Philippine Embassy, 1957), p. 11. This early development of Philippine nationalism will be discussed more fully within the context of Chapter II.

10. See S. N. Maitra, "Kawit—Birthplace of Nationalism in Asia," *Philippine Christian Advance,* September, 1962, pp. 10 f.

11. Onofre D. Corpus, "Western Colonization and the Filipino Response," *Journal of Southeast Asian History,* III (March, 1962), 19.

12. See Ronald K. Orchard, *Out of Every Nation,* International Missionary Council Research Pamphlet No. 7 (London: SCM Press, 1959).

13. See E. Stanley Jones, *The Christ of the Indian Road* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1925).

14. For an Anglican affirmation of this, see J. W. C. Wand, *The Place of Nationalism in Religion*, Twenty-sixth Annual Hale Memorial Sermon (Evanston: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1940).

15. International Missionary Council, *Minutes of the Enlarged Meeting, Willingen, Germany, July 5-21, 1952* (London: International Missionary Council, 1952), p. 60.

16. World Conference on Church, Community and State, *The Churches Survey Their Task* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1937), p. 226.

17. For an excellent discussion of the potential promise and danger of nationalism, see Heinz-Dietrich Wendland, "Constructive Nationalism as an Ecumenical Problem," Preparatory Paper for the International Study Conference on Rapid Social Change, Thessaloniki, Greece, 1959 (mimeographed). See also Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), pp. 378-419.

18. International Missionary Council, *Jerusalem Meeting, March 24-April 8, 1928*, Vol. III: *The Relation Between the Younger and the Older Churches* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1928), p. 108. See also Norman Goodall (ed.), *Missions Under the Cross* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1953), p. 196; and Charles Ranson (ed.), *Renewal and Advance* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1948), p. 221.

19. Paul Devanandan and M. M. Thomas (eds.), *Christian Participation in Nation-Building* (Bangalore: The National Christian Council of India and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, 1960), p. 295. See also Charles Forman, *The Nation and the Kingdom* (New York: Friendship Press, 1964), pp. 42 ff.

20. See C. H. Dodd, *Christianity and the Reconciliation of the Nations* (London: SCM Press, 1952).

CHAPTER II

1. Filipinos point out that Magellan did not discover the Philippines. The islands were discovered many centuries earlier by succeeding waves of Negrito, Indonesian, Malay, and Chinese settlers and traders.

2. Gregorio Zaide, *Political and Cultural History of the Philippines* (Manila: Garcia Book Store, 1957), I, 115.

3. John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

7. Zaide, *op. cit.*, I, 183-85.

8. Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

9. *Ibid.* It should be noted, however, that these conversions did not include the Muslim Filipinos of the south (in Mindanao and Sulu), whom Spain never really conquered. The mass conversions to Catholicism extended over most of the remainder of the archipelago (except in the isolated, mountainous areas), reaching those Filipinos whose faith was animistic and relatively unorganized.

10. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co., 1903-1907), I, 63.

11. Raúl Manglapus, "The Church and Nationalism," An Address to the Pax Romana Conference, Manila, January 7, 1960 (mimeographed), p. 5.

12. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, III, 253 ff.

13. *Ibid.*, VIII, 70-72. These strictures against slavery are especially striking when one considers how much later it was before slaves in the United States were freed.

14. Philip Finegan, e.g., in speaking of the success of the orders, says: "A Christian Malay race, a people that from the lowest grade of savagery had advanced to the highest form of civilization, was the result of their efforts" ("Philippine Islands," *Catholic Encyclopedia* [1913], XII, 15).

15. Phelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-28.

16. Kenneth S. Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1939-43), III, 319.

17. Zaide, *op. cit.*, I, 196.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

19. Frank C. Laubach, *The People of the Philippines* (New York: George H. Doran, 1925), pp. 81-83.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

21. *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 57 f.

22. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 41.

23. Jean Mallat, *Les Philippines* (Paris, 1846), I, 40, quoted by Edward G. Bourne, in *ibid.*, p. 42.

24. Arthur Brown, *The New Era in the Philippines* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903), p. 126.

25. Zaide, *op. cit.*, I, 178.

26. Phelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-4.

27. *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), I, 39 ff. The Jesuits, although once great landowners also, had lost all of their property when they were expelled from the islands in 1769. They had been allowed to return in 1859 but were prohibited from owning land again (Laubach, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95).

28. Cesar Adib Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution*, in *Diliman Review*, No. 5 (1957), p. 359. See also Laubach, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-93.

29. For fuller treatment of this development, see Homer C. Stuntz, *The Philippines and the Far East* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1904), pp. 91-118. See also Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, XXI, and Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-31.

30. The Roman church has two kinds of priests: the regular, or religious, clergy and the secular clergy. The regular (from the Latin *regula*, meaning rule) priest belongs to a religious order that is bound together by a certain rule. The secular priest, on the other hand, gets his name from the Latin word *saecularis* (meaning the world), because he lives in the world and is not bound by monastic rules.

31. Majul, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff. For further examples of this issue, see Josef Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, trans. Matthias Braun (Techny, Ill.: Mission Press, S.V.D., 1933), pp. 388 ff, 423 ff, 502 ff.

32. Phelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

33. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 39-40, and Phelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

34. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 315, and James LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and*

Country (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1905), pp. 119-21. For the background of this problem and its development in the seventeenth century, see Horacio de la Costa, S.J., "Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Philippines in the 17th Century," *Philippine Studies*, II (September, 1954), 197-216.

35. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 40.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, XXI, 32-78.

38. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 41.

39. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, XLII, 25-116. See also Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 42.

40. *Ibid.*, L, 137-90.

41. Francis H. Wise, "The History of the Philippine Independent Church" (Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1955), pp. 6-17.

42. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 43-44.

43. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., "The Development of a Native Clergy in the Philippines," *Theological Studies*, VIII (July, 1947), 227.

44. *Ibid.* Costa, a leading Filipino Catholic historian, says that these decisions, "though perhaps too sweeping, were fundamentally a sound precaution" (*ibid.*, p. 230)!

45. Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

46. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, XLV, 182-83.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Hilario A. Lim *et al.*, "Memorial to His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, on the Native Religious Clergy in the Republic of the Philippines," Manila, 1957 (mimeographed), p. 15.

49. Costa, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36, quoting from Mas, *Informe*, III, 33.

50. H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 17, quoting from W. E. Retana (ed.), *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1893), II, Apendice H, 534.

51. *Ibid.*

52. James LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), I, 62, quoting from *Las Política de España en Filipinas*, VII, 35-37.

53. Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

54. Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

55. *Philippine Life . . .*, p. 121.

56. W. E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino* (Madrid, 1895-1905), I, 24-25, quoted by Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Larraga was a theologian read at the time (H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

57. H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 16, citing Fr. Gracia, "Original Documents Found in the *Archivo de la Curia Arzobispal de Manila*," *Seminarium* (March, 1941). Costa, however, in his *Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 577, estimates the date as being "a few years after 1720."

59. Costa, "The Development of a National Clergy . . .," p. 234.

60. *Historia general, sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila, 1892 [MS completed in 1751]), p. 293, quoted by H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

61. Above, p. 20.

62. H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

63. Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

66. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 45.

67. H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 19, citing Evergisto Bazago, *History of the Education in the Philippines* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1953), p. 127.

68. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 45.

69. H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

70. LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*, I, 60 f.

71. Michael J. O'Doherty, "The Religious Situation in the Philippines," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXIV (1926), 131.

72. Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

73. For a full presentation of the friars' response to Philippine nationalism and their identification with colonialism, see "The Friar Memorial of 1898," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, LII, 227-86.

74. O'Doherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 f.

75. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 45.

76. *Report of the Philippine Commission: 1904* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 39.

77. Joseph W. Regan, *The Philippines: Christian Bulwark in Asia* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Maryknoll Publications, 1957), p. 14.

78. Fred R. von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), p. 142. See also Phelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-89.

79. Cf. John Considine, *Call for Forty Thousand* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1946).

80. Von der Mehden, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 f. See also Phelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-89 and Corpus, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

81. Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

82. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, XIV, 327 f.

83. *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 28.

84. Zaide, *op. cit.*, I, 343 ff. and von der Mehden, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

85. Zaide, *op. cit.*, I, 356 f.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, XXXVIII, 27-37.

88. Wise, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-21.

89. Zaide, *op. cit.*, I, 364.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

91. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

92. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 47.

93. *Philippine Life . . .*, p. 150.

94. Laubach, *People of the Philippines*, pp. 94-100.

95. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

96. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 47 f.

97. Laubach, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-10.

98. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

99. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 110-14.

100. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

101. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 148-60.

102. Laubach, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-113.

103. See Eugene A. Hessel, *The Religious Thought of José Rizal* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1961).

104. *Noli Me Tangere,* trans. Charles Derbyshire (2d ed.; Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1926), pp. xxxi f.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

106. *Ibid.*

107. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

108. *Noli Me Tangere,* p. 382.

109. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 160-95.

110. Laubach, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-8.

111. Von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism . . .*, pp. 90 ff.

112. *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900,* I, 130.

113. Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (Manila: Manila Book Co., 1925), pp. 55-57.

114. Majul, *Mabini . . .*, p. 349.

115. *Ibid.*, pp. 368-74, discusses in some detail this interesting aspect of the Revolution.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 358.

117. Zaide, *op. cit.*, II, 195 ff.

118. Laubach, *op cit.*, pp. 113 ff., quoting statistics from *1913 Census of the Philippine Islands,* I, 346.

119. The Franciscans were allowed to own only convents and schools while the Jesuits, as a condition of their return, owned no land. Stuntz, *The Philippines and the Far East,* p. 287.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 316. See pp. 284-321 for the background of this purchase and the original correspondence involved in it.

121. Josef Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History,* trans. Matthias Braun (Techny, Ill.: Mission Press, S.V.D., 1933), p. 634.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 635.

123. Such work has often been started only after the efforts of Protestants have begun in these areas. E.g., the Episcopal work in Mt. Province and Mindanao has been followed often by the Roman church which had previously neglected these areas for centuries. See Lewis B. Whittemore, *Struggle for Freedom* (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1961), p. 230.

124. *Catholic Directory of the Philippines: 1967,* p. 908.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 905. The Roman church has looked upon the public schools as detrimental to her influence and has placed great emphasis upon her own school system in which Catholic children can be closely supervised, trained, and shielded from non-Catholic teachers and their ideas. Indeed, the growth of the Catholic schools has weakened to some extent the influence and strength of the public schools in many areas. This problem will doubtless increase in the years ahead.

126. See, e.g., Frank Lynch, S.J., *Four Readings on Philippine Values* (2d rev. ed.; IPC Papers, No. 2. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1964). See also the periodical *Philippine Studies,* published quarterly by the Society of Jesus. Of special significance is Vitaliano R. Gorospe's "Christian Renewal of Filipino Values," *Philippine Studies,* XIV (April, 1966), 191-228.

127. See Latourette, *op. cit.*, V, 272 f., and von der Mehden, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-93.

128. Stuntz, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-21.

129. O'Doherty, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

130. Latourette, *op. cit.*, V, 273.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 272, quoting Friedrich Schwager, *Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft*, IV, 212 ff.

132. Peter G. Gowing, *Islands Under the Cross* (Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967), p. 150.

133. The claim of some writers that there were *Filipino* bishops during the Spanish colonial period is inaccurate. Barlin was the first bishop of Filipino parentage; the others were full-blooded Spaniards. While some bishops before 1905 were born in the Philippines, they were all "criollos," i.e., Spaniards born outside of Spain. See Domingo Abella's authoritative statement on this problem in his "Episcopal Succession in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies*, IV (October, 1959), 435-47.

134. Regan, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

135. Abella, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

136. Regan, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

137. *Catholic Directory of the Philippines: 1960* (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1960), p. 634.

138. *Local Leadership in Mission Lands: Proceedings of Fordham University Conference of Mission Specialists*, ed. J. F. Ewig (New York: Fordham University Press, 1954), p. 39.

139. Regan, *op. cit.*, p. 29, and H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, quoting from Leo Cullum, *Philippine Studies*, I (1953), 171 ff.

140. Regan, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

141. *Catholic Directory . . . 1966*, p. 25.

142. See Josef Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory*, trans. Matthias Braun (Techny, Ill.: Mission Press, S.V.D., 1931). This missiologist makes it perfectly clear that the aim of Catholic missions is a "complete and exclusive church, deeply rooted in the native soil, independent of foreign tutelage and as indigenous as possible." "Missions," he continues, "should work for their annihilation and 'self-destruction' for only by accomplishing this do they complete their task" (p. 294).

143. *Catholic Directory . . . 1960*, p. 368.

144. *Ibid.*

145. *Ibid.* The record for the forty-one women's religious orders and congregations is much better than for the men's, with 1,005 foreign sisters compared with 3,116 Filipino sisters (*ibid.*, p. 369). However, it is the men, rather than the women, with whom the power and direction of the Roman Catholic church lie; thus it is the record of the men's orders that is by far the more important.

146. H. Lim *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

147. *Catholic Directory . . . 1966*, p. 888.

148. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-33. In recent years an increasing number of Filipinos have moved into positions of leadership in these institutions.

149. "Statement of the Catholic Hierarchy of the Philippines on the Novels of Dr. José Rizal" (Manila, April 21, 1956), pp. 7 f.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

151. This supposed retraction (similar to other alleged last-hour retractions of

various national heroes, such as de los Reyes, Sr.) has not been proved by objective scholarly research; it is, rather, simply part of various efforts to rewrite Philippine history in a light more favorable to Roman Catholicism.

152. "Statement of the Hierarchy," p. 16.

153. Juan Nabong, "Our Unfinished Task" (Manila, 1956). It is interesting to note that both Roseller Lim and Hilario Lim are former students of Fr. Joaquin Jaramillo, who taught courses on José Rizal in Zamboanga when the Lims were students there.

154. H. Lim *et al.*, "Memorial to His Holiness, Pope Pius XII," p. 1.

155. *Ibid.*, quoting "Praecones Evangelii," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XVIII, 82.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

157. See Hilario A. Lim, *Memorandum of My Appeal to His Eminence Valerio Cardinal Valeri on My "Expulsion" from the Society of Jesus* (Manila, 1958).

158. *Zamboanga Times*, October 4, 1958, p. 5.

159. *Cebu Republic Daily*, September 25, 1958, p. 4.

160. Senator Roseller Lim, "This Is the Score on Filipinization of Schools and Clergy" (Manila, 1959).

161. " 'Filipino First Policy' in Religious Affairs," *Philippine Christian Advance*, June, 1961, p. 32.

162. "Statement of the Philippine Hierarchy on the Nationalization of Schools," reprinted from *Boletin Eclesiastico de Filipinas*, XXXIII (March, 1959), 368.

163. " 'Filipino First Policy' . . .," p. 36.

164. *Ibid.*

165. *Manila Chronicle*, February 12, 1960, p. 1.

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ibid.*

168. *Ibid.*

169. *Ibid.*

170. Cf. Hans Küng, *The Council, Reform and Reunion*, trans. Cecily Hastings (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961) and Karl Rahner, *The Church After the Council* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1966).

CHAPTER III

1. Lewis B. Whittemore, *Struggle for Freedom* (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1961), p. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 f.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 f.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83. See also Cesar Adib Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution*, in *Diliman Review*, No. 5 (1957), pp. 412-18.

6. See Aglipay's Manifesto of August 19, 1899, in Francis H. Wise, "The History of the Philippine Independent Church" (Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1955), pp. 111-16.

7. Wise, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-22. The full manifesto is found in *Revolución filipino con otros documentos de la época* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913), II, 114-18.

8. Pedro S. de Achútegui and Miguel A. Bernad, *Religious Revolution in the Philippines. The Life and Church of Gregorio Aglipay: 1860-1960*. Vol. I: *From Aglipay's Birth to His Death, 1860-1940* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1960), 104-11.

9. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Frank C. Laubach, *The People of the Philippines* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1925), p. 135.

12. *Religious Revolution . . .*, pp. 104-12.

13. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

15. Achútegui and Bernad, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 f.

16. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 f.

17. Achútegui and Bernad, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 f.

18. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

19. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

20. Homer C. Stuntz, *The Philippines and the Far East* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1904), pp. 489 f.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 490. Homer Stuntz, Methodist missionary and later bishop, was present at the meeting.

22. For an evaluation of this meeting, see Donald McGavran's article in *Encounter* (Vol. XIX, No. 3, p. 299), cited by Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

23. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

24. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

25. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

26. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 164 f.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

31. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-13.

32. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

33. For a comparison of the two churches, see Majul, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

34. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

35. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

36. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

37. Achútegui and Bernad, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

38. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 f.

39. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

40. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

41. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

42. See Aglipay's first six "Fundamental Epistles" in Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-24.

43. Isabelo de los Reyes, *Religion of the Katipunan*, trans. Jorge Revilla (2d ed.; Manila, 1953), cited by Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

44. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

45. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 f.

46. Aglipay was not entirely happy with his consecration, and he made exploratory investigations with the Old Catholics and the Anglicans to see if his church's episcopacy could be regularized according to Catholic orthodoxy. Staunch nationalist that he was, he did not long pursue this issue. See Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-39.

47. Stuntz, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

48. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

49. James LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1905), pp. 70 f.

50. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

51. See Louis Cornish, *The Philippines Calling* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1940). The author visited the Philippines as American Unitarian Association president.

52. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

53. Cornish, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

54. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 220, and Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-51.

55. William H. Scott, "The Philippine Independent Church in History," *East and West Review*, XXVIII (January, 1962), 10.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

57. Achútegui and Bernad, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

58. *Report of the Deputation of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1916), p. 227.

59. "Religious Philippinism," *Philippine Observer*, March, 1927, p. 2.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

63. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 219. Harold Fey was told in Manila: "The Aglipayan Church is a combination of about 10 per cent high church Episcopalianism, about 85 per cent of the kind of nationalism represented in America by the D.A.R., the old guard Republicans and the American Legion, and about 5 per cent of Clarence Darrow's worship of science." ("Filipino Church Head Returns," *Christian Century*, XLVIII [December 23, 1931], 1638.)

64. Laubach, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 f.

65. *Ibid.*

66. Achútegui and Bernad, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

67. Laubach, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 f.

68. Achútegui and Bernad, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

69. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-99.

73. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 f.

74. Stuntz, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

75. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

76. Wise, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-38.

77. *Catholic Directory of the Philippines: 1960* (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1960), p. 370.

78. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

79. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 f.

80. Letter from Monsignor de los Reyes, January 4, 1963.

81. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 f.

82. Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., "Historical Statement," in *Golden Jubilee of the*

Proclamation of the Philippine Independent Church, Commemorative Program (Manila, 1952), p. 13.

83. Ramon Alipit, "The Position of the Philippine Independent Church," *Southeast Asia Journal of Theology*, IV (July, 1962), 35.

84. Conrad W. Myrick, "The Episcopal Church in the Philippines" (mimeographed) p. 13.

85. Letter from Monsignor de los Reyes, December 14, 1963.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Whittemore, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

88. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

89. Interview with Monsignor de los Reyes, May 20, 1960.

CHAPTER IV

1. Gregorio F. Zaide, *Political and Cultural History of the Philippines* (Manila: Garcia Book Store, 1957), II, 20 ff.

2. American writers of the period, including missionaries, saw America's motives as almost wholly altruistic. Thus Methodist Homer Stuntz, in *The Philippines and the Far East* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1904), p. 134, wrote: "The American occupation of the Philippines was undertaken with motives as humane and disinterested as those which drove us to war with Spain at first." For a critical interpretation of the beginnings of American imperialism in Asia, see George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy: 1900-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 1-20. See also C. H. Hamlin, *The War Myth in United States History* (New York: Fellowship Publications, 1954), pp. 40-49; and Gerald H. Anderson, "Providence and Politics Behind Protestant Missionary Beginnings in the Philippines," in *Studies in Philippine Church History*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968).

3. Many Protestants thought of this opportunity as "providential." Thus, in 1898 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, U.S.A., declared: "God has given into the hands of American Christians, the Philippine Islands, and thus opened a wide door effectual to their populations and has, by the very guns of our battleships, summoned us to go up and possess the land" (Arthur J. Brown, *One Hundred Years* [New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1937], pp. 861 ff).

4. Arthur J. Brown, *The New Era in the Philippines* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903), p. 170.

5. James B. Rodgers, *Twenty Years of Presbyterian Work in the Philippines* (Manila, 1919), p. 9.

6. Camilo Osias and A. Lorenzana, *Evangelical Christianity in the Philippines* (Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House, 1931), p. 107.

7. These negotiations are reported in Brown, *One Hundred Years*, pp. 861 ff.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 868.

9. Frank C. Laubach, *The People of the Philippines* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1925), p. 203. The Episcopal mission, while observing comity, did not join the Union because it desired to remain close to the Roman church as well as to the Protestant groups. *Ibid.*, pp. 205 f.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-19.

11. Brown, *One Hundred Years*, p. 866.

12. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands* (Manila, 1924), p. 11.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Walter N. Roberts, *The Filipino Church* (Dayton, Ohio: Foreign Missionary Society and Women's Missionary Association of the United Brethren in Christ, 1936), p. 138.

17. *Dagiti Naimbag a Damag,* December 4, 1926, cited by Roberts, *op. cit.,* pp. 138 f.

18. Laubach, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Elmer K. Higdon, "Development of a Filipino Church" (B.D. thesis, Graduate Faculty, University of Chicago, 1930), p. 36, citing *Station Reports of the Philippine Presbyterian Mission, 1920-1925* (Manila, 1925).

21. Paper "A," Conference on Missions in the Philippines, June 29-30, 1933, pp. 3-5.

22. *Annual Report of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1948), p. 42.

23. Rodgers, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

24. Brown, *One Hundred Years,* p. 898, and Rodgers, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

25. *Report of the Deputation of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1915* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1916), p. 249.

26. James B. Rodgers, *Forty Years in the Philippines: A History of the Philippine Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1940), p. 172.

27. *The Philippine Presbyterian,* X (July, 1919), 11.

28. Rodgers, *Forty Years . . .,* p. 193.

29. *Report of the Deputation . . .,* p. 240.

30. Higdon, *op. cit.,* p. 159.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Paper "A," Conference of 1933, p. 5.

33. Higdon, *op. cit.,* p. 156.

34. Higdon, "Significant Developments in Evangelical Churches During 1931," *Philippine Observer,* January, 1931, p. 8.

35. Frank C. Laubach, "How Youth May Aid in Literacy Campaign," *Philippine Observer,* August, 1932, p. 5.

36. Laubach, *People of the Philippines,* p. 192.

37. Letter from Dr. Proculo A. Rodriguez, former president, Southern Christian College, Midsayap, Cotabato, January 14, 1963.

38. Higdon, "Development of a Filipino Church," p. 163.

39. Letter from Dr. Proculo A. Rodriguez, February 21, 1963.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. Laubach, *People of the Philippines,* p. 190.

43. Roberts, *The Filipino Church,* p. 3.

44. Laubach, *People of the Philippines,* p. 190.

45. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 153, citing the *1905 Annual Report of the Philippine Mission of the United Brethren in Christ.*

46. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

47. Paper "A," Conference of 1933, p. 4.

48. Higdon, "Development of a Filipino Church," pp. 93 f.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

54. Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 f., citing *Annual Report of the Philippine Mission of the United Brethren in Christ, 1927-1928.*

55. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

58. Higdon, "Development of a Filipino Church," p. 112.

59. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 128 f.

61. Alan G. Gripe, "A Comparative Study of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the United Church of Japan (Kyodan) and the Church of South India" (S.T.M. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1953), p. 3.

62. Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 and 140.

63. Enrique C. Sobrepeña, *A New Emphasis in Religion* (Manila: Filipino Printing Press, 1929).

64. *Minutes of the Meeting of the United Evangelical Church of the Philippines,* March 14-19, 1929.

65. Cited by Leonardo Dia, "Present Missionary Situation in the Philippines," *Philippine Observer,* December, 1931, p. 12.

66. *Philippine Mission,* Centennial Series (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1936), p. 16.

67. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 148, citing *Annual Report of the Philippine Mission of the United Brethren in Christ,* 1933, p. 6.

68. Gripe, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Ibid.*, p. 14, citing *Report of the President of the Supreme Council of the Evangelical Church in the Philippines,* First General Assembly, April 28-30, 1944.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

73. Richard T. Baker, *Darkness of the Sun: A Story of Christianity in the Japanese Empire* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947), pp. 223 ff.

74. Gripe, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

76. *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1946,* pp. 30-35.

77. *The Crisis Decade: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1937-1947* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1950), p. 110.

78. *Report of the Deputation of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to the Philippine Islands: 1946* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1946), pp. 73-76.

79. Laubach, *People of the Philippines*, p. 191.

80. Higdon, "Development of a Filipino Church," p. 114.

81. Laubach, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

82. Higdon, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

84. Higdon, "Significant Developments . . .," p. 9.

85. Rodgers, *Forty Years . . .*, p. 64. In 1926 there was a theological division among the Disciples' missionaries. A fundamentalist schism began independent work and grew much faster than the original group. The new group, called the "Wolfe Disciples," numbered 12,000 by 1940 (*ibid.*, p. 65). They have remained outside of the ecumenical movement to the present time.

86. *Dahong Pang-Alaala, Ika 25 Aniversario, 1932-1957, Iglesia Evangelica Unida de Cristo* (Manila, 1957), pp. 9-12.

87. Riley B. Montgomery *et al.*, *Report of the Commission to Japan* (Indianapolis: United Christian Missionary Society, 1954), p. 19.

88. Gripe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

89. Montgomery *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

90. Interview with General Secretary Enrique C. Sobrepeña, March 11, 1963.

91. *Ibid.*

92. Gripe, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

93. *Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines*, Legaspi City, May, 1960, p. 181.

94. *Minutes of the Executive Committee of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines*, December 11-13, 1962, p. 1.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

96. Letter from Norwood B. Tye, United Promotions, United Church of Christ, November 25, 1963, citing *Minutes of the Executive Committee*, United Church, December 13-15, 1960.

97. Peter G. Gowing, *Islands Under the Cross* (Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967), p. 248.

98. Ilustre Z. Guloy, "Spreading Righteousness over the Land," *Philippine Christian Advance*, August, 1963, p. 19.

99. Cf. with Roman Catholic position, above, p. 48.

100. Cf. with Roman Catholic position, above, p. 52.

101. Enrique C. Sobrepeña, "Our Main Concern as a Church," Address delivered to Joint Consultation, Philippines Interboard Committee and United Promotions Council, United Church of Christ, February 25-28, 1963, Quezon City, Philippines (mimeographed).

CHAPTER V

1. Francisco S. Galvez, "Early History of Philippine Methodism," *Souvenir of the Fortieth Anniversary of Methodism in the Philippines* (Manila, 1939), pp. 5 f. Although the Methodist Episcopal church established the mission, the designation hereinafter will be simply "the Methodist church."

2. Homer C. Stuntz, *The Philippines and the Far East* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1904), pp. 427-29.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

4. *Official Journal of the Philippine Islands Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1905* (Manila, 1905), p. 25.

5. Samuel Stagg, "Why We Stay Out," *Philippine Observer,* May, 1925, p. 3.

6. A. Lowell Ryan, "Looking Forward," *Philippine Observer,* December, 1931, p. 9.

7. *Official Journal of the Philippine Islands Annual Conference of The Methodist Episcopal Church,* 1915 (Manila, 1915), p. 79. This publication is hereinafter cited as *Journal of the P. I. Annual Conference,* with the appropriate year added.

8. Frank C. Laubach, *The People of the Philippines* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1925), pp. 242 ff.

9. Paper "A," Conference on Missions, 1933, p. 6.

10. *Official Journal of the Philippines Central Conference of the Methodist Church,* 1960 (Manila, 1960), p. 73. This publication is hereinafter cited as *Journal of the Philippines Central Conference,* with the appropriate year added.

11. Gerald H. Anderson and Peter G. Gowing, "Four Centuries of Christianity in the Philippines: An Interpretation," *Encounter,* XXV (Summer, 1964), 364.

12. *Journal of the P.I. Annual Conference,* 1924, pp. 43 f.

13. *Ibid.,* 1919, p. 27.

14. Stuntz, *op. cit.,* pp. 494-95. I am indebted to Dr. Ernest J. Frei for calling my attention to these nontheological factors in his review of my book, *The Story of Methodism in the Philippines,* in *Philippine Studies,* XIII (July, 1965), 741-43.

15. *Journal of the P. I. Annual Conference,* 1914, p. 19.

16. *Ibid.,* 1915, p. 70.

17. *Ibid.,* 1920, p. 62.

18. See Ivan Lee Holt and Elmer T. Clark, *The World Methodist Movement* (Nashville: The Upper Room, 1956).

19. Holt and Clark, *op. cit.,* pp. 112-20.

20. José Valencia, "We Belong to a World Church," Episcopal Address, *Journal of the Philippines Central Conference,* 1960, p. 56.

21. James B. Rodgers, *Forty Years in the Philippines: A History of the Philippine Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1940), p. 149.

22. Interview with Dr. Walter N. Roberts, Chairman, Survey of Theological Education in the Philippines, May 20, 1962.

23. Elmer K. Higdon, "The Development of a Filipino Church" (B.D. thesis, Graduate Faculty, University of Chicago, 1930), p. 72.

24. *Journal of the P. I. Annual Conference,* 1929, p. 71.

25. Orville Davis, "Give Us a United Church," *Philippine Observer,* January, 1929, p. 3.

26. Francisco S. Galvez, "Whither Bound Philippine Methodism?" *Philippine Observer,* February, 1934, pp. 11-13.

27. *Journal of the Philippines Central Conference,* 1948, p. 44.

28. Rodgers, *op. cit.,* p. 189.

29. *Journal of the P. I. Annual Conference,* 1908, pp. 16 f.

30. *Ibid.,* 1908, p. 27.

31. Letter from J. T. Copplestone, editor of *The History of Methodist Missions,* quoting *Journal of the General Conference of The Methodist Episcopal Church,* 1904 and 1908.

32. For a fuller treatment of Nicolas Zamora, see my article, "Nicolas Zamora, Religious Nationalist," in *Studies in Philippine Church History,* ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968).

33. Laubach, *op. cit.,* pp. 164 f.

34. Felix Bayot, "The Life Story of Nicolas Zamora," trans. Juan Nabong, *Philippine Christian Advance,* April, 1950, pp. 5-7.

35. *Journal of the P. I. Mission Conference,* 1903, p. 8.

36. Marceline Gutierrez, "The Iemelif—First Indigenous Church in the Philippines," *Philippine Christian Advance,* April, 1950, pp. 3-5.

37. *Journal of the P. I. Mission Conference,* 1907, p. 33.

38. Bayot, *op. cit.,* p. 6.

39. *Philippine Christian Advocate,* September, 1909, p. 6.

40. *Ibid.*

41. William Oldham, "The Zamora Defection," *Philippine Christian Advocate,* March, 1909, p. 4.

42. "Bishop Bashford in Manila," *World-Wide Missions,* No. 7 (1909), pp. 6-7.

43. Gutierrez, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

44. *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Iemelif Church* (Manila, 1959), p. 78.

45. The shortened name comes from combining the first letter of each word in the full Spanish title, "Iglesia Evangelica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas."

46. *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of The Methodist Episcopal Church,* 1909 (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1909), p. 349.

47. "Bishop Bashford in Manila," p. 7.

48. Guiterrez, *op. cit.,* p. 4.

49. Peter G. Gowing, *Islands Under the Cross* (Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967), p. 247.

50. *Journal of the P. I. Annual Conference,* 1913, p. 13.

51. *Ibid.,* 1915, p. 10.

52. *Ibid.,* 1926, p. 21.

53. *Ibid.,* 1932, p. 3.

54. *Ibid.,* 1935, p. 11.

55. *Ibid.,* 1936, p. 18.

56. Interview with the Rev. Mr. Cornelio Ferrer, former editor of the *Philippine Christian Advance,* March 13, 1961.

57. For a perceptive discussion of the Central Conference, see L. Elbert Wethington, "The Central Conference of the Methodist Church," A Study Paper for the General Conference Commission on the Structure of Methodism Overseas, 1960-1964, Manila, 1962 (mimeographed).

58. *Journal of the P. I. Annual Conference,* 1914, p. 36.

59. *Ibid.,* p. 70.

60. *Journal of the P. I. Annual Conference,* 1922, p. 67.

61. *Ibid.,* 1926, p. 10.

62. *Ibid.,* 1930, p. 15.

63. *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 13.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

67. N. R. Baugh, *The New Independence Movement in Philippine Methodism* (n.p., n.d.), p. 3.

68. Alexander McLeish, *A Christian Archipelago* (London: World Dominion Press, 1941), p. 18.

69. "Statement of Herbert Welch," *Philippine Observer*, April-May, 1933, pp. 13-14.

70. Interview with the Rev. Mr. Francisco Galvez, July 14, 1962.

71. *Journal of the Philippines Central Conference*, 1948, p. 49.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

73. *Journal of the Philippines Central Conference*, 1948, pp. 35 f.

74. *Journal of the Mindanao Provisional Annual Conference*, 1961, pp. 68, 74, 80 f.

75. Newsletter from Mrs. Elisa Ocera, Executive Secretary of the Board of Missions of the Philippines Central Conference, December, 1963.

76. See his "A Theory of Protestant Social Action for the Philippines" (Th.D. dissertation, School of Theology, Boston University, 1953).

77. *Journal of the Philippines Annual Conference*, 1956, p. 14.

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